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SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

FOURTH SERIES

VOLUME 2

Miscellany X

VOLUME X

Miscellany

of the Scottish History Society

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

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Council of the Society

1887–1963

E. W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE

a memoir by Professor D. B. Horn, D LITT

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E. W. M. Balfour-Melville

1887–1963

E. W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE

a memoir by Professor D. B. Horn, D LITT

*

EVAN WHYTE MELVILLE BALFOUR-MELVILLE was born on 15 November 1887 at Edinburgh. He was the only son of James Heriot Balfour-Melville and Mary Dundas, daughter of Sir David Dundas of Dunira. His family descended from the Balfours of Pilrig, whose history was elucidated by Miss Barbara Balfour-Melville, his father's cousin, in *The Balfours of Pilrig* (Edinburgh, 1907). Educated at Charterhouse and New College, Oxford, he returned to Edinburgh as assistant to Sir Richard Lodge in 1911. Without minimising in any way the influence of his school and college upon Balfour-Melville, it may fairly be said that his first appointment was the decisive point in his career. It was Lodge who encouraged him to undertake research and become a historian.

It was Lodge who as chairman of the University Settlement helped to introduce him to social service and gave him what became a lifelong interest not only in the University Settlement but also in many other activities, notably the Boy Scout movement. Again it was Lodge who, as first President of the Edinburgh branch of the Workers' Educational Association, introduced him to adult education work, which occupied a considerable portion of his spare time for a good many years. And it was Lodge's frequent absences from Edinburgh on war work in the early years of the First World War that gave Balfour-Melville his first chance to prove that he could hold the attention of the large British History Ordinary class, which had always hitherto, in accordance with Scottish tradition, been taken by the professor.

Last but by no means least, the Lodge influence may be traced in

Balfour-Melville's readiness to give his services to various organisations which promoted, in their several ways, the study of history and its secure establishment in the Scottish educational system. An original member of the Historical Association of Scotland, he soon became and remained for twenty-eight years its honorary treasurer. Giving up this post, he became its President from 1953 to 1956 and continued to take the liveliest interest in its welfare until his death. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society in 1925. Although he remained in membership with both of these organisations as long as he lived, latterly he came to be more closely associated with the Scottish History Society.

Balfour-Melville's long connexion as a teacher in the University of Edinburgh was broken only in the academic years 1917-18 and 1918-19. He held a commission as Lieutenant on the special list and carried out recruiting duties at the Ministry of National Service. He then returned to the University and was appointed lecturer in history from 1 October 1919. Soon he was again taking tutorials in British history with Edinburgh undergraduates and lecturing on the set books for Lodge's Honours course in eighteenth-century European history: at that time the only course offered by the University in the history of Europe.

The membership of the History department could at this time be counted on the fingers of one hand: Lodge, Heatley, Ewing, Balfour-Melville and Miss Williamson. Yet the British History Ordinary class was bigger than it is now and the Honours school produced a dozen Honours graduates a year with a much higher proportion of 'firsts'. Since Lodge was dean as well as professor of history, and Heatley was one of the two advisers of studies for the Faculty of Arts and taught political science as well as history, a very heavy burden was thrown on the junior members of the history department.

The conditions of his employment prevented Balfour-Melville from becoming a specialist. The burdens of tutorial work and examining left him little time for private study. He was moreover constantly being invited to give lectures on periods of British history ranging from King Alfred to the *entente cordiale* of 1904 and varying from year to year with the date of the professor of history's absence from Edinburgh. In addition, as the history syllabus expanded, Balfour-Melville as the senior lecturer in the department took on more and more regu-

lar lecturing commitments, some British, some European. He was at the time of his retirement the only member of the history department competent to teach both medieval and modern history; and unless the whole tendency of nineteenth- and twentieth-century education is reversed it seems certain that he will have no successor in this respect.

With the retirement of Heatley in 1935 and of Lodge's successor, Basil Williams, in 1937, Balfour-Melville came into his own. He was elected in 1932 to membership of the Faculty of Arts—at this time a select body consisting almost solely of professors and directors of studies. More than anyone else he held the history department together during the years of appeasement and war. Twice he acted as head of the department when the professorial chair was vacant and both Galbraith and Sumner depended upon his ripe experience and loyal support. But the times were hard and little development was possible: the history department hardly changed between 1920 and 1945. Balfour-Melville co-operated as loyally with Pares as with his predecessors, and conducted a 'Special Subject' on 'The Union of Scotland and England' which made a lasting impression on many Honours students. When the title and office of senior lecturer impinged upon the consciousness of the University Court, Balfour-Melville was appointed in 1950 to this new (to the Arts Faculty) dignity. He retired under the age limit in 1952.

Just how good a lecturer Balfour-Melville was is obviously a matter of opinion. The very versatility which circumstances forced upon him compelled him to compete on rather unequal terms with the newer generation of much more specialised lecturers. He never had behind him in any part of his university teaching the extensive first-hand experience of research in one special field, which nowadays is regarded as an essential condition for delivering really first-class lectures or giving the best kind of tutorials. In composing his lectures he studied the best authorities, brought his material up to date year by year, devoted much attention to scale and proportion, weighed his words with care and polished his naturally good style. Some of his auditors felt that admirable as they were, they lacked the personal approach which is an essential ingredient in the perfect lecture. His detached manner of delivery may have confirmed this impression. Yet other auditors have spoken many years later of the deep impression made

upon their minds by these lectures: their mastery of the sources and ability to grasp the other side's point of view, their technical competence and above all their humanity and breadth of sympathies. For Balfour-Melville, who was a Conservative in terms of twentieth-century politics, possessed a liberal mind and a keen social conscience.

Partly for reasons already explained and partly because of an unfortunate setback in his first project of research, Balfour-Melville was slow to produce original work. The meticulous accuracy and determination not to go an inch beyond the available evidence, which are the most marked features of his biography of King James I of Scotland, must also have postponed its publication until 1936, when he was nearing his fiftieth birthday. For this work the University of Edinburgh awarded him the D.LITT. degree. Thirty years after publication, it is still constantly appealed to as an authoritative source on all aspects of the reign of James I, and it seems unlikely to be superseded. Balfour-Melville subsequently edited in two volumes for the Scottish History Society, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Estates in Scotland, 1689-1690* (Edinburgh, 1954-55). This work adds appreciably to our knowledge of how, why and with what results the Revolution was effected in Scotland. He also transcribed and edited for the Scottish Record Office a volume of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1690*, which will be published in 1966.

Unfortunately the major work which occupied most of his spare time for many years before his death—a study of the reign of David II, exactly parallel to his book on James I—is represented by only two publications. In 1954 he produced a Historical Association pamphlet on *Edward III and David II* and in 1958 edited in the Scottish History Society's *Miscellany*, volume ix, 'Papers relating to the captivity and release of David II'. He wrote occasionally in the *English Historical Review*, and was a regular contributor of reviews and articles, mainly on medieval subjects, to the *Scottish Historical Review* from 1917 until it ceased publication in 1928 and again from 1948 to 1962. In 1959 he produced *A short history of the church of St John the Evangelist*, the Edinburgh church to which he gave service as a Vestryman for many years.

The record of his published work is completed by the pamphlet in which he recalled his personal memories of the Historical Association of Scotland. This was delivered as an address at the celebrations held

to mark the jubilee of the Association in 1960. In response to widespread requests, Balfour-Melville generously printed the address at his own expense and copies were distributed to all members of the Association.

It would be a poor compliment to say of Balfour-Melville, as is so often said of men in public or professional life, that they were busier in retirement than they had ever been in the course of a busy life. It is however true that there was no diminution in his activity after 1952, but merely a change in the forms which it took. When he laid down his appointment he became in practice, what he had long been in sympathy, a historian of Scotland and not merely a Scottish historian. The centre of his life moved north from the South Bridge to the Register House and it was there that he probably spent the happiest days of his life. Even now he was not completely free from routine work: he not only acted as an examiner in Edinburgh and Glasgow Scottish History departments, but also continued to advise the Scottish Education Department and the Scottish Universities Entrance Board in the preparation and marking of Leaving Certificate and Preliminary examination papers in history.

Much of his time was devoted to the concerns of the Edinburgh Corporation Education Committee upon which he represented the Episcopal Church in Scotland from 1955 until his death. Although or perhaps because he spoke seldom at meetings of the full committee, his views carried much weight with his fellow-members. He convened the Bursaries Sub-Sub-Committee so successfully that its decisions were rarely questioned. Individually he was an assiduous school-visitor, approachable and always ready to give counsel and aid, yet never so obsessed with the problems of one of his schools as to lose his sense of proportion as a member of the committee responsible for all the authority's schools. He was also one of the most regular attenders at official visits to schools and further education establishments. The list of bodies upon which he represented the Education Committee and the Town Council is too long to reproduce here; but it included the governors of the Heriot Trust, the Heriot-Watt College, Newbattle Abbey, Donaldson's School for the Deaf, the Trefoil School and the Mars Training Ship. The length of his educational experience, his grasp of what was practicable and not merely desirable, and the wide range of his own interests enabled him to make a substantial

contribution to all of these governing bodies in the closing decade of his life.

Nor did his devotion to new causes cause him to neglect the old associations which had begun for him in early adult life. Here pride of place must certainly be given to the Episcopal Church in Scotland of which he was a devoted son, a leading lay official and a wise counsellor; a regular attender at meetings of its Boards and Councils, he won special esteem as Convener of the Social Service Board and of the Consultative Council on Church Legislation. The continuance of his interest in the University of Edinburgh was shown by his bequest to it in his will of his books in Edinburgh.

To the Old Edinburgh Club, which he had joined in 1927, he gave service as both Council member and Vice-President. In spite of some discouragement and many difficulties he brought very close to a successful conclusion the work of the Scottish Committee on the History of Parliament, of which body he acted as secretary from its institution in 1937. Almost to the end of his life he was active in the Scout movement and for long served as a county commissioner.

His connexion with the Scottish History Society began in 1931, when he was appointed Honorary Secretary in succession to H. W. Meikle, and he held this office until 1962. His term of thirty-one years as Secretary was by far the longest in the Society's history and outstrips the record of the first Secretary, Dr T. G. Law, who held office for eighteen years. Yielding to the friendly pressure of Professor W. Croft Dickinson and others, Balfour-Melville accepted the position of Chairman of Council for the term 1956–59 and held this post 'in plurality', as he remarked, with the Secretaryship. As Secretary, he supervised the publication of thirty-four of the Society's volumes and his meticulous proof-reading saved many an editor from error. In 1962 he was called by the *sensus communis* of the Society to the office of President. A bequest to the Society in his will testifies to one of the long-continuing interests of his life.

Realising that time was drawing in, he sometimes became gently impatient of the demands upon his time and spoke of retiring from all public activities to concentrate upon the study of the reign of David II. It seems doubtful whether even this drastic re-ordering of his habitual course of life would have secured the desired end. It would certainly have been most repugnant to a man so imbued as Balfour-Melville

with the best traditions of unpaid service. His instinct was always to put the service of the public before personal convenience and advancement.

It may be said that he drifted into university teaching at a time when it was widely accepted that no one without a private income should either join the diplomatic service or become a university teacher. The professional outlook and trade union organisation of the next generation of university teachers was always foreign to his mind. He invariably spent the summer at his house in Comrie with its beautiful garden, intent upon the pursuits of a country gentleman, and emerging only to pay a round of visits to friends and relations. Even in his seventies he enjoyed a game of golf and was a good dancer. He gave up driving a car in 1939, but could be seen after the Second World War riding a motor-scooter on his way to visit friends near Comrie or even to discharge his duties for the Scottish Universities Entrance Board at St Andrews.

During the Second World War he served with the University O.T.C. and it used to amuse him to walk along Princes Street on a Saturday morning with a single star on the shoulders of his uniform jacket and watch the raw second-lieutenants mistake the single star for the single crown, more appropriate to his grey hairs, and give him a smart salute. Though he was never a *raconteur* of the Meikle or Hannay school, he had a neat turn of phrase, a readiness in *riposte*, and the quickness of mind to produce the right anecdote or allusion at the appropriate moment. Once he and I were standing in the Old Quadrangle as Principal Sir Thomas Holland passed by. Balfour-Melville had known Sir Alfred Ewing, Holland's predecessor, well; but was unknown to Holland. When Holland greeted me and ignored Balfour-Melville, Balfour-Melville turned to me and remarked, not at all *sotto voce*, 'Who's your fat friend?'

Without throwing doubt on its essential truth, I sometimes wonder how much Balfour-Melville had polished his favourite anecdote about Sir Richard Lodge. Coming down the History stair, surrounded by a crowd of students, after lecturing to the British History Ordinary class, he claimed he had heard one young woman say to her friend, about Sir Richard Lodge: 'He's the best lecturer in the University. You can take down every word he says.'

His sense of humour may occasionally have surprised a much

younger generation. When he was making a speech at a boys' school prize-giving or speech day, he apparently would sometimes begin 'Ladies and gentlemen', and turning to the serried rows of boys, 'and fellow bachelors'. This went down well.

Once he had overcome his conservatism and discovered the ease of air-travel, he loved to go on holiday to the countries of the Mediterranean: Spain, Italy and Greece. Sometimes he spent the New Year in Paris, visiting friends and working in the archives, and breaking the journey in London to represent the Historical Association of Scotland at the annual meetings of the Historical Association, where he was always a welcome and honoured guest. Though he often reviled Edinburgh's weather, particularly the east winds of spring, and had something of the country gentleman's scorn for its bourgeois society and mercantile plutocracy, it was in Edinburgh that he chose, on retirement, to make his home.

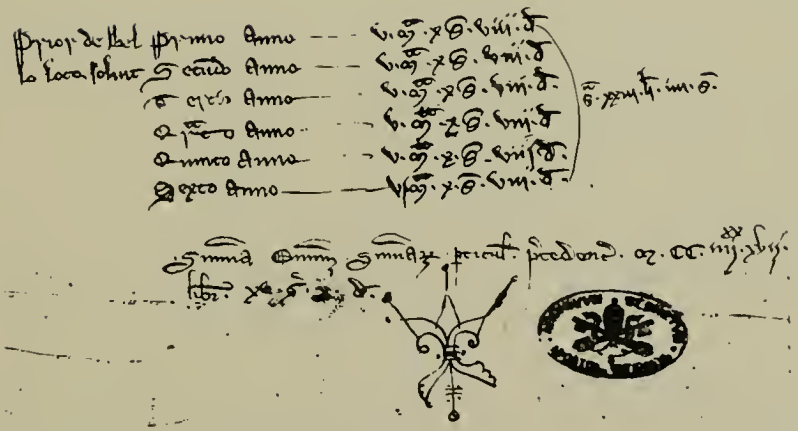
Balfour-Melville was a man of singularly equable temper and, even when annoyed by incompetence or insolence in others, he was slow to give expression to his wrath. Students who did not know him sometimes thought of him as featureless or indifferent. One of them, now a Labour politician, sometimes read the *Daily Herald* during a Balfour-Melville lecture, presumably to find out how far it was safe to go rather than from an urgent need to discover the day's party line. Even this display of bad manners did not prevent the lecturer from treating the culprit with the courtesy he always displayed towards all students and indeed towards all his fellow-men. More than manners went to the making of Balfour-Melville, but manners were integral to the man.

Essentially an introvert, though adept at social contacts, few of his colleagues or students came to know him really well. Those who did, cherish the memory of a man who was modest behind a superficial mask of hauteur, generous and kindly behind an appearance of lack of interest in others. He did much to advance the study and teaching of history in Scotland in half a century of sustained endeavour. It may well be that the memory of his example will be even more effective than his own achievements, great as they are, in the service of the causes he had most at heart.

BAGIMOND'S ROLL

for THE DIOCESE OF MORAY

edited by the Rev. Charles Burns



BAGIMOND'S ROLL
for THE DIOCESE OF MORAY

edited by the Rev. Charles Burns

*

INTRODUCTION. During the academic year 1961-62, a survey of two important diplomatic collections of the Vatican archives, the 'Instrumenta Miscellanea' and the 'Archivum Arcis',[1] was made under the auspices of the Ross Fund. Many documents of Scottish interest had been published already from these collections, especially by Theiner,[2] but now for the first time these collections as such were made the subject of a systematic examination for sources of Scottish history. Several documents, hitherto unknown, have been discovered as a result of this survey, one of which, catalogued as Instr. Misc. 6425, is a late thirteenth-century transcript of Bagimond's Roll for the diocese of Moray. Bagimond's Roll requires no introduction to members of the Scottish History Society. The history of the Holy Land tithe of 1274, and the manner of its levying in Scotland by Master Boiamund de Vitia, have been described in detail by Dr A. I. Dunlop in previous Miscellany volumes[3] and it would be superfluous to repeat that history here. Likewise, it is not necessary to explain anew the significance that Bagimond's assessment was to have for ecclesiastical taxation in Scotland throughout the later Middle Ages. It is sufficient to note that this transcript provides the only complete contemporary return for any Scottish diocese and that it corroborates the evidence of the roll

[1] The name is derived from the medieval papal fortress, (originally the mausoleum of the emperor Hadrian and now the Castel Sant'Angelo), where Sixtus IV and Leo X deposited a large collection of important and valuable papal documents for safekeeping. The entire collection was transferred to the Vatican in 1798.

[2] *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864).

[3] *Scottish History Society Miscellany*, V (1933), 79-106; VI (1939), 3-77.

for the archdeaconry of Teviotdale that the Holy Land tax was levied during the whole prescribed term of six years.

The Moray taxation roll consists of five pieces of fine parchment, joined to one another with thread. The overall length of the roll is nine feet approximately, while in width it measures almost seven inches, varying very slightly according to each piece. The left-hand margin *recto* of each piece is marked, top and bottom, with minute guide-letters, so that, in the event of the roll being dismembered, the correct sequence of the text can always be reconstructed. A similar precaution has been taken on the reverse side, where numerals have been written at the head of each piece, probably by a later hand. Fortunately such precautions have never been necessary, because the Moray roll, unlike the roll for the archdeaconry of Teviotdale, bears no signs of the ravages of time. Indeed, one cannot but marvel at its excellent state of preservation.

At various times this document has received annotations and endorsements, in addition to the numerals mentioned above and the stamped reference number of the Vatican Archives. With only two exceptions, all these annotations are written in a contemporary hand, if not by the hand of the scribe responsible for the text itself. On the reverse side of the first piece there is a title: 'Rotulus Episcopatus Moraviensis qui remanebit penes magistrum Beymondum & est transcriptum Rotuli transmissi ad Curiam Romanam'. This corresponds exactly with the title of the Teviotdale roll, and moreover supplies one important detail, which was obliterated when the other roll was mutilated,[1] namely, that these transcripts were to remain in the possession of Master Bagimond himself. The number 'xviij' is written immediately below this title, assigning a place to the Moray roll in the complete series; the Teviotdale roll was number twenty-two of the series. There are two other contemporary endorsements on the reverse side of this first piece, both written very minutely. The first is 'Summatus cum areragiis'; and the second, 'Examinatus'—endorsements which figure identically on the Teviotdale roll. On the reverse of the fifth piece, at the very end of the Moray roll, the scribe has noted the following in a very abbreviated form: 'Summa omnium summarum precedentium istius Rotuli . . .'. The figures of the total have been erased and it is not possible to read what was entered here.

[1] *SHS Misc.*, v, 87.

The other annotations have been made by different hands at some much later date. The first of these, written on the reverse of the first piece, reads: '492. Rotulus episcopatus Moraviensis pro solutione procurationum'. The number appears to be some earlier reference number. On the reverse of the fifth piece there is a different description of the nature of the Moray roll: 'Catalogus Beneficiorum Moraviensis Episcopatus'. Both descriptions are incorrect and doubtless they are the source of a third inaccurate description of this document, which is to be found in the catalogue of the Vatican Archives, where the entry is: 'Rotulus episcopatus Moraviensis pro solutione procurationum quindecim annorum'. The introduction of the last detail is quite inexplicable.

The individual entries, which constitute the text of the roll, are straightforward, although corruptions and errors have crept in during the process of transcribing from the original. The copyist, no doubt due to his unfamiliarity with our Scottish place-names, frequently misreads the letters c and t, u and n. Alnech could be read for Alveth; Inneralian for Inveralian. The three variant spellings of Duffus—Duffhous, Duffus and Duffhus—require some other explanation. Transcription, however, accounts for the minor grammatical lapses, where 'soluit' has been written, when it should be 'soluerunt'. To it also should be attributed the inaccuracy of the individual totals of four of the entries: in each case, save one, this error is of very little consequence. But transcription does not account for the fact that the grand total, even after taking into consideration the difference resulting from the errors in the individual returns, is not itself accurate.

One other feature of this Moray roll is surprising: out of sixty-four tax-payers, and over a term of six years, there is not a single instance of default in any payment. This appears almost too good to be true. The Teviotdale roll provides plentiful evidence that the tithe was not always paid in full, even if it does not bear out the once accepted opinion that the first three years' receipts fell short of the assessment. There is something almost unreal about this exactness with which the churchmen of Moray fulfilled their obligations. It is worth noting, however, that the entries for the first year from the diocese of Moray, as recorded in Bagimond's statement of returns from the whole country, preserved at the Roman Curia,[1] do not correspond exactly with the first

[1] *SHS Misc.*, vi, 44-7.

year's entries on this newly discovered roll. Admittedly, there is no certain element by which the Moray and Teviotdale rolls can be dated with precision. Both cover the same six-year term, but no indication of when that term began, or ended, is contained in either of these documents. Unfortunately, there is no equivalent section in the Curial record devoted to the archdeaconry of Teviotdale, with which a comparison might be made, as has been possible in the case of the Moray roll, in order to verify if the 'primo anno' of all three documents refers to the first year of the same six-year term.[1]

A new layout, different from that used in the edition of the Teviotdale roll in 1933, has been adopted for the Moray roll. Except for the first entry, which has been given in full, all the entries have been abbreviated, and arabic numerals have been substituted for the more cumbersome roman numerals.

In the preparation of Bagimond's Roll for the diocese of Moray I have received much help and encouragement from Dr A. I. Dunlop, and I should like to record my grateful thanks to Professor A. A. M. Duncan, who suggested the new layout, and in particular to Dr I. B. Cowan, who identified the place-names with such meticulous care.
C.B.

[1] Martin IV, in at least two bulls concerned with this tithe, 15 July 1283 and 13 August 1284, gave Bagimond explicit instructions to prepare the individual statements in duplicate, retaining one copy for himself, and dispatching the other to the Roman Curia: 'volumus autem ut de qualibet assignatione decimarum ipsarum prout per te facta fuerit, confici facias duo similia publica instrumenta, quorum alterum penes te retinens, reliquem Nobis mittere non postponas'. Cf. *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 469, 478. It seems probable that the Moray and Teviotdale rolls, together with the others, were prepared at this time in compliance with these papal mandates.

Rotulus Episcopatus Moraviensis pro VI annis

Episcopus soluit

Primo anno	c m^{a}	
Secundo anno	c m^{a}	
Tercio anno	c m^{a}	Summa iiij^{c} lib.
Quarto anno	c m^{a}	
Quinto anno	c m^{a}	
Sexto anno	c m^{a}	

Decanus soluit 20 mks 9s. 7d. p.a; total 'iiij^{xx} lib. xl s. xvij s. vj d.'—£82 17s. 6d.

Subdecanus soluit 6 mks 5s. 4d. p.a; total £25 12s.

Ecclesia de Essy[1] tota soluit 9s. 4d. p.a; total 56s.

Vicarius de Dundurgus[2] soluit 13s. 4d. p.a; total £4.

Garbe ecclesie de Ryny[3] soluerunt 32s. 8d. p.a; total £9 16s.

Vicarius de Ryny soluit 8s. 8d. p.a; total 52s.

Ecclesia de Alueth in Straspe'[4] soluit 23s. p.a; total £6 18s.

Vicarius de Alueth in [S]traspe soluit 11s. 9d. p.a; total 70s. 6d.

Thesaurarius soluit 8 mks p.a; total £32.

Vicarius de Dalcrus[5] soluit 15s. 4d. p.a; total £4 12s.

Prebendarius de Petyn et de Brathelyn[6] soluit £5 0s. 14d. p.a; total £30 7s.

Vicarius ecclesie de Petyn soluit 20s. p.a; total £6.

Vicarius ecclesie de Brathelyn soluit 20s. p.a; total £6.

Vicarius de Durrus[7] soluit 24s. p.a; total £7 4s.

Prebendarius de Bocruthyner et de Aberlohor'[8] soluit 62s. 6d. p.a; total £28 15s.[9]

Succentor soluit 7 mks p.a; total £28.

Ecclesia de Katby morgus[10] soluit 9s. 4d. p.a; total 56s.

Prebendarius ecclesiarum de Chrochy et de Luneny[11] soluit 4 mks 7s. p.a; total £19 2s.[12]

Ecclesia de Duler Gussy[13] soluit 19s. 4d. p.a; total 116s.

Prebendarius de Spyny soluit 39s. 4d. p.a; total £11 16s.

Vicarius de Spyny soluit 16s. p.a; total £4 16s.

[1] Essie. [2] Dundurcus. [3] Rhynie. [4] Alvie in Strathspey. [5] Dalcross.
[6] Petty and Brachlie. [7] Dores. [8] Botriphnie and Aberlour.
[9] Error for £18 15s. 0d. [10] Rothiemurchus. [11] Croy and Lunan.
[12] Error for £18 2s. 0d. [13] Dalarossie.

Ecclesia de Logyn Kenn' [1] soluit 30s. p.a; total £9.
Ecclesia de Inueralian[2] soluit 30s. p.a; total £9.
Garbe ecclesie de Abernithy[3] soluerunt 17s. 4d. p.a; total 104s.
Ecclesia de Artildul[4] soluit 13s. 4d. p.a; total £4.
Garbe ecclesie de Ewyn[5] soluit[6] 38s. 8d. p.a; total £11 12s.
Ecclesia de Farneway[7] soluit 9s. 4d. p.a; total 56s.
Garbe ecclesie de Deveth[8] soluit [9] 32s. p.a; total £9 12s.
De terra ecclesie de Deveth et de Inuerlochyn[10] 3s. 4d. p.a; total 20s.
Ecclesia de Glas[11] tota soluit 28s. 2d. p.a; total £8 9s.
Prebendarius de Duffhous[12] soluit £4 p.a; total £24.
Vicarius de Duffus soluit 26s. 8d. p.a; total £8.
Capella de Duffhus soluit 16s. p.a; total £4 16s.
Vicarius de Aberkerdor[13] soluit 46s. 8d. p.a; total £14.
Vicarius de Dyke soluit 22s. 8d. p.a; total £6 16s.
Ecclesia de Althyrt[14] tota soluit 13s. 3d. p.a; total 79s. 6d.
Prebendarius de Botharty[15] soluit 5 mks 6s. p.a; total £21 16s.
Prebendarius de Kynkussy[16] soluit 4 mks 11s. 4d. p.a; total £19 8s.
Prebendarius de Kynnor' et de Dunbanan'[17] soluit 4 mks 14s. p.a; total £20 4s.
Vicarius eorundem soluit 13s. 4d. p.a; total £4.
Vicarius ecclesie de Inuernys[18] soluit 4 mks p.a; total £16.
Vicarius ecclesie de Abertharif[19] soluit 22s. p.a; total £6 12s.
Precentor soluit 9 mks 5s. 4d. p.a; total £37 12s.
Vicarius de Coneway[20] soluit 9s. 4d. p.a; total 54s.[21]
Vicarius ecclesie de Deveth soluit 10s. 8d. p.a; total 64s.
Ecclesia de Lundethy[22] soluit 40s. p.a; total £12.
Vicarius de Wardelav[23] soluit 9s. 4d. p.a; total 56s.
Procurator rectoris ecclesie de Kynkardin in Straspe[24] soluit 17s. 4½d. p.a; total 105s. 3d.[25]

[1] Logie-Kenny (now Laggan). [2] Inverallan. [3] Abernethy. [4] Arndilly.
[5] Braaven (now Cawdor). [6] Error for soluerunt. [7] Farnua.
[8] Daviot. [9] Error for soluerunt.
[10] This is unlikely to be Inverlochy near Fort William. It appears as Inverlochty in *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1837), no. 125, and in the barony of Birnie (ibid., no. 395). There is a Lochty Burn near Elgin.
[11] Glass. [12] Duffus. [13] Aberchirder (now Marnoch). [14] Altyre. [15] Botarie.
[16] Kingussie. [17] Kinnoir and Dunbennan. [18] Inverness.
[19] Abertarff. [20] Conveth. [21] Error for 56s.
[22] Dunlichity. [23] Wardlaw. [24] Kincardine on Spey.
[25] Error for 104s. 3d.

Prebendarius de Duppol[1] soluit 35s. p.a; total £10 10s.
Ecclesia de Inuertony[2] soluit tota ecclesia 5 mks 8s. p.a; total £22 8s.
Garbe ecclesie de Moy soluit 17s. 5½d. p.a; total 104s. 9d.
Vicarius ecclesie de Abernythy[3] soluit 14s. p.a; total £4 4s.
Rector ecclesie de Brenach[4] soluit 26s. 8d. p.a; total £8.
Prebendarius ecclesie de Bothol[5] tota ecclesia soluit 60s. p.a; total £18.
Vicarius de Aberiachy[6] soluit 9s. 4d. p.a; total 56s.
Prebendarius [C]entum solidorum soluit 10s. p.a; total 60s.
Ecclesia de Dalcros[7] soluit 49s. 4d. p.a; total £14 16s.
Vicarius de Owyn'[8] soluit 13s. 4d. p.a; total £4.
Magister pontis de Spe soluit 17s. 5d. p.a; total 104s. 6d.
Archedeaconus soluit 10 mks 3s. 9d. p.a; total £41 2s. 6d.
Prior de Pluscardeby soluit 26 mks p.a; total £104.
Prior de Hurhard[9] soluit 8 mks p.a; total £32.
Prior de Bello Loco[10] soluit 5 mks 10s. 8d. p.a; total £23 4s.

Summa omnium summarum particularium precedentium
M cc iiij^{xx} xvij lib. xv s. x d.[11]

Notarial sign

[1] Dipple. [2] Inverkeithny. [3] Abernethy. [4] Birnie. [5] Duthil.
[6] Abriachan (now Bona). [7] Dalcross. [8] Braaven. [9] Urquhart.
[10] Beauly.
[11] Adding the individual returns as they actually appear on this roll, albeit inaccurately in four instances, the total obtained should be £1,297 9s. 6d. After correcting the four inaccurate entries the total would then be £1,286 12s. 6d. In neither case would it be equal to what has been entered in the roll, namely, £1,297 15s. 10d. Is this discrepancy the explanation of the erasure of the figures of the total on the reverse of the roll?

ACCOUNTS of the KING'S PURSEMASTER

1539–40

edited by Athol L. Murray, PH D

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*

INTRODUCTION. The two accounts printed here are the only surviving examples of their kind among the records of the Scottish Exchequer.[1] Both are fragmentary, the first being represented by two detached folios of the discharge (expenditure), one covering the ten days 8–17 November 1539 and the other the conclusion of the account on 2 March 1539-40, with the totals and the signatures of the auditors. The second is more complete, comprising the whole charge (receipts) from 3 March 1539-40 to 27 August 1540, but only about half the discharge, which breaks off at 23 May 1540. Some of the surviving folios have been torn, fortunately with the loss of no more than a small part of the text. Although the two accounts were written by different hands, with slight variations in spelling and phraseology, both appear to have been audited at the same time. This is shown by the fact that the first item of the second account, namely the 'super-expenses' or balance due to the pursemaster at the conclusion of the first account, has been inserted after the rest was written. According to normal Exchequer practice the totals were added at the foot of each page by the clerks at the time of auditing.

An inventory of Exchequer records drawn up by Sir John Skene in 1595 includes the two accounts, the first being described as 'ane compt maid be Johnne Tennent pursmaister 1539' and the second as

[1] Scottish Record Office (SRO), HM General Register House, Edinburgh: Exchequer, Various Accounts, Treasury etc. (E. 30), no. 9. The two accounts have been bound together in one volume and foliated continuously.

'Johnne Tennentis compt pursmaister 1530' (*sic*).[1] Though Skene may have taken the designation 'pursmaister' from some part of the MS. now lost, it does not appear in the extant portions, nor is it applied to Tennent elsewhere. On the other hand, a commission appointing William Hamilton of McNairstoun as pursemaster, which was recorded in the Register of the Privy Seal in 1524,[2] may be taken as good contemporary authority for applying the same title to his successors.

Historians have paid comparatively little attention to the personnel of the royal administration in Scotland and in this respect Tennent's career, which can be traced over a period of fifteen years, is of some interest. His origins appear to have been humble, his father being a tenant of lands on the northern slopes of the Pentlands in the parish of Midcalder, Midlothian. A brother, Patrick, was admitted as a guild brother of Edinburgh on 12 February 1535-6, in right of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of the deceased Henry Hopper.[3] On 10 October 1539 Patrick received a charter from James Sandilands of Calder and his son of the lands of Wester Colzium in the barony of Calder, possessed by Alan Tennent, his father.[4]

John Tennent first entered the royal service in 1527, as one of the three 'varlets' (valets) of the King's Chamber.[5] By March 1529 he had received the additional appointment of Yeoman or Bearer of the Crossbow, which he retained for at least two years and perhaps longer.[6] In 1531 he married Marion or Mause Atkinson, who had been James V's laundress since 1516.[7] On 15 April 1531, in contemplation of this marriage and 'in recompense for the services done to us by the said Marion since our boyhood years', James V granted them the lands of the Mylcroft, with the mill, mill land and thirl multure of Abergie, in the parish of Abernethy, Perthshire, which had been

[1] SRO, Tabill of the Cheker Rollis, f. 105. The original MS., of which this is a contemporary copy, is *penes* the Earl of Haddington.

[2] *Registrum Secreti Sigilli* (*RSS*), i, no. 3273. [Abbreviations conform to the 'List of abbreviated titles of the printed sources of Scottish history to 1560' in *Scottish Historical Review*, October 1963.]

[3] *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren*, 1406-1700 (Scottish Record Society, 1929), 486.

[4] *Registrum Magni Sigilli* (*RMS*), iii, no. 2151.

[5] *Exchequer Rolls* (*ER*), xv, 460.

[6] Various entries in the *Treasurer's Accounts* link John Tennent with the King's crossbows up to 1542: *TA*, vi, 25; vii, 188-9; viii, 115.

[7] *ER*, xiv, 287-8.

forfeited by Archibald, earl of Angus.[1] Having retained this property for about nine years, they sold it for 600 merks to the earl of Argyll, to whom the rest of the lordship of Abernethy had been granted in 1533.[2] Probably the lands and mill provided Tennent with funds to pay the compositions on a number of escheats and other gifts, which he acquired from the Crown during the period.[3] Certainly his offices brought little by way of remuneration. Apart from his keep and livery as a member of the Household, his post in the King's Chamber was worth only four merks per annum and no additional remuneration was attached to that of Yeoman of the Crossbow.[4] His wife continued to act as the King's laundress, at six merks per annum. On his appointment to a post in the Wardrobe at the end of September 1524, Tennent's salary was increased to the same amount.[5]

When James V sailed for France in September 1536, Tennent was one of the servants who accompanied him. Before landing at Dieppe he was given 1,000 crowns from the King's 'boxes', no doubt to defray some of the royal expenses.[6] He remained with the King until 24 February 1536-7, when James despatched him from Compiegne, bearing a letter and apparently also a verbal message to Henry VIII.[7] Apparently his reception at the English court was unfriendly. Queen Margaret wrote to her brother complaining of reports that her son's servant had not been 'wele tane with, as thai say', which she found hard to credit.[8] Tennent appears to have rejoined the King before the latter's departure from France. On their return to Scotland he supervised 'the carrying of the Kingis cofferis furtht of the schippis to the abbey of Halyrudhouse' on 9 June 1537.[9] About three months after this he was appointed Yeoman of the Wardrobe at a salary of £8, with 20 merks for his livery. In 1540 he was described as Keeper of the Wardrobe, but this appears to have been an alternative title for the

[1] *RMS*, iii, no. 1008. The charter was confirmed by the King after his general revocation, on 1 July 1537 (ibid., no. 1684).

[2] *RMS*, iii, nos. 1318, 2277; Fraser, *Douglas*, iii, 231.

[3] E.g. *RSS*, ii, nos. 1200, 2128, 2651, 3945; *TA*, vi, 7, 173, vii, 241.

[4] *ER*, xv, 548, xvi, 134; *TA*, vii, 36, 91.

[5] *ER*, xvi, 394. Mause Atkinson was still acting as laundress in 1542 (*TA*, viii, 101). Her duties extended to more than merely washing clothes and appear to have included the custody of part of the royal wardrobe (*TA*, vii, 303, viii, 41, 57, 61; SRO, Liber Emptorum (E. 32), no. 7, ff. 156, 159, 168, 171, 177).

[6] *TA*, vi, 450.

[7] *TA*, vii, 7; *Hamilton Papers*, i, no. 37.

[8] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, xii, pt. i, no. 1028.

[9] *TA*, vii, 23, 25.

same office.[1] His duties included receiving and delivering items belonging to the Wardrobe and attesting bills and accounts.[2] An inventory of 'the Kingis graces abilyementis beand in his graces wardrop in Edinburgh', given up by Tennent on 28 November 1542, shows that he had custody of the King's gowns, coats, cloaks, doublets, hose and bedding, though not, curiously, of his hats and caps. Again, while someone else kept the royal jewels, Tennent was responsible for the regalia. In March 1538–9 he gave instructions for making 'ane cais' for the sword of honour.[3]

Although of insufficient importance to be named in the witness lists of royal charters, Tennent did appear as a witness to resignations and other transactions taking place in the royal palaces.[4] There is evidence also of the trust and favour with which the King regarded him. On the very day of the King's mother's death, 18 October 1541, James came to Methven and commanded Oliver Sinclair and John Tennent to secure her goods.[5] Another indication of royal favour was Tennent's appointment, on 1 November 1540, as keeper of the palace and forester and keeper of the park of Holyroodhouse, at an annual salary of 100 merks.[6] There is also some evidence that the King was instrumental in procuring grants of church lands for Tennent and his wife. Certainly James signed the feu-charter of lands in the barony of Monkland granted to them, on 25 February 1538-9, by the abbot and convent of Newbattle. Although no record has survived of their grant of the lands of Over Howden in Lauderdale, held in feu-farm of Kelso abbey, it is significant that the King was then administrator of the abbey on behalf of its infant commendator, his illegitimate son. The lands from which Tennent took his territorial designation, Listonshiels, in the parish of Kirknewton, Midlothian, were feued to him by the preceptor of Torphichen, the charter, dated 26 February 1537-8, being confirmed under the Great Seal on 29 September 1540.[7]

[1] *ER*, xvii, 165, 280; *TA*, vii, 125.

[2] *TA*, vi, 337-8, 443; vii, 93, 156, 158, 172-3, 191, 292, 300, 473.

[3] SRO, Wardrobe Inventories etc. (E. 35), no. 1, ff. 41-53, cf. 35-8; *TA*, vii, 142.

[4] *RMS*, iii, no. 2064n; *RSS*, ii, no. 3235; *Protocol Books of Dominus Thomas Johnsoun* (Scottish Record Society, 1920), no. 206.

[5] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, xvi, no. 1307.

[6] *RMS*, iii, no. 2216.

[7] *RSS*, ii, no. 2895, cf. *Prot. Bk. Johnsoun*, nos. 186-7; *RMS*, iii, no. 2204, iv, no.927. Tennent and his wife also held the lands of Harehope, Peebleshire, for a short period from January 1540 to March 1541, when they resigned these lands in favour of Patrick Tennent and his wife (*Prot. Bk. Johnsoun*, no. 206; *RMS*, iii, no. 2394).

Tennent's final acquisition, however, was by purchase from Sir John Crichton of Strathurd and comprised the lands of Easter Cairns, Schielhill and Brothertoun, in the parish of Midcalder, Midlothian. The date of purchase is unknown, but Crichton's charter of sale was confirmed on 15 June 1542 by John Sandilands, fiar of Calder, and his father. Along with the lands, Tennent acquired the tower or castle of Cairns, the ruins of which stand to the present day.[1]

Tennent's career in the royal service ended with the death of James v. He was named as one of the witnesses to the notarial instrument whereby, on 14 December 1542, the dying King purported to appoint Cardinal Beaton and others as tutors for the infant Queen Mary.[2] Only a month later Tennent's keeperships of the palace and park of Holyroodhouse were granted to William Baillie of Lamington, principal master of the Wardrobe, and John Kirkcaldy, his depute, from which it appears that Tennent had already lost his post in the Wardrobe. Both Tennent and his wife were alive on 14 February 1542-3, but thereafter there is no further record of either.[3] Some years earlier Thomas Ewan, perhaps a close friend, had established a chaplainry at the altar of the Holy Blood in St Giles' Kirk, Edinburgh, and had included the names of Tennent and his wife among those for whose souls the chaplain was to pray.[4] They were both dead before 26 February 1549-50,[5] when Patrick Tennent appears as laird of Cairns, having succeeded to that property and Listonshiels in the absence of surviving issue of their marriage. Patrick himself died before August 1566, but his descendants held these lands until 1685, when they passed to a remote relative, in whose person the family of Tennent of Cairns finally disposed of the property which John Tennent had acquired for it.[6]

John Tennent's duties in the Wardrobe appear to have involved a certain amount of travelling in attendance on the King, particularly when the latter went hunting. In August 1538 he was paid £6 13s.

[1] H. B. McCall, *Parish of Midcalder* (1894), 103-4.
[2] Hist. MSS Comm. 21, 11th R. vi, *Hamilton*, p. 220.
[3] *RSS*, iii, no. 49; *RMS*, iv, no. 927.
[4] Ewan's charter is dated 10 July 1529 in the Register of the Great Seal, but this date is quite inconsistent with a number of its particulars and should probably be 1539; *RMS*, iii, no. 2600.
[5] SRO, Acts and Decrees, iii, f. 240.
[6] *Protocol Book of Mr Gilbert Grote* (Scottish Record Society, 1914), no. 279; McCall, op. cit., 104-11, with genealogical table of the Tennent family at p. 109.

'for expensis debursit be him for cariage hors to the said hunting furth of Linlithqu, Striviling and Dunblane, remanand thair the tyme of the huntis with beddis, burdis and utheris cariagis, as his billis of compt beris'.[1] It seems, therefore, that the close attendance required of him as pursemaster conflicted less than might be expected with his duties in the Wardrobe. For the pursemaster had to be on hand almost constantly to pay out money on the King's verbal instructions.[2] Because of this, the accounts provide evidence of the King's movements, which is the more welcome in view of the loss of the Household accounts for 1539-40 and the somewhat confused testimony provided by both the Great Seal and Privy Seal registers for the period.[3] The first account shows that James V was at St Andrews on 8 November 1539. Two days later he travelled by boat from Kinghorn to Queensferry, where he crossed the Forth. On 13 November he was at Melrose and from 14 to 17 November at Kelso, perhaps in his capacity as administrator of the abbey.

The loss of the concluding portion of the second account is the more to be regretted since the pursemaster must have accompanied James on his voyage round northern Scotland and the Western Isles. This is, however, foreshadowed by three items in the accounts. On 27 April 1540 a pursuivant was sent 'in to the Ilys with writingis of his gracis'; on 2 May ten ells of cloth were bought 'to be scloppys[4] and brekis for the see to his graice'; and on 9 May another pursuivant went to the Isles 'with the kingis letteris to caus provisioun be maid agane his gracis cumin'. The voyage had been postponed owing to the imminent birth of the Queen's first child.

At the close of the first account on 2 March 1539-40, James was in Edinburgh, where he appears to have visited the Mint. He was still there the following day, on which the second account began, but by

[1] *TA*, vi, 433; vii, 87, 252.

[2] In April 1538, 40s. was paid by John Barton to 'the menne of the Salamanderis boit quhen the Kingis grace come our the watter in absence of his gracis purs' (*TA*, vi, 394). Such references to the 'absence of the purse' are very uncommon.

[3] For instance, *RMS*, iii, no. 2039, and *RSS*, ii, no. 3206, are both dated 8 November 1539, the former at Dumbarton, the latter at Falkland. *RSS*, ii, nos. 3209-11, are dated at Newbattle, Dumbarton and Kelso respectively on 12, 13 and 17 November 1539. The pursemaster's accounts show that the King was definitely not at Dumbarton on the dates in question. Certain types of documents may have been dated at Edinburgh irrespective of the King's actual presence, but the subject is too large to be treated here.

[4] Loose jackets or outer garments.

6-7 March he was at Linlithgow,[1] whence he proceeded to Stirling, where the Queen was in residence. On 16 March he left Stirling for Falkland and by 18 March he had arrived at St Andrews.[2] Two days later he visited the works in progress at Burntisland, returning to Stirling by boat. Having spent Easter with the Queen at Stirling, he left again on 2 April for Falkland. From 3 to 5 April he was at St Andrews, but on 7 April he was back at Stirling once more,[3] to accompany the Queen on her journey to Falkland. This was accomplished in easy stages. Having reached Alloa by river, they proceeded overland to Dunfermline, where they made an offering at the Abbey.[4] After spending the night of 8-9 April at Wester Kinghorn, the royal party was transported in two galleys along the Fife coast, as far as Ravenscraig, near Kirkcaldy, whence on 10 April they completed the final stage of the journey overland to Falkland. There the Queen remained until 1 May, when she removed to St Andrews.[5] Meanwhile the King, restless as ever, had left Falkland on 13 April, crossing the Forth from Kinghorn to Leith and returning, apparently by the same route, three days later. He remained at Falkland from the 16th to the 22nd, apart from a day's hunting nearby at Cash on the 17th, but on 22 April he left once more, proceeding by way of Cupar to Pitlethie, near Leuchars. His stay there lasted ten days, broken by a brief excursion to Dundee on 30 April.[6] His 'fraucht' across the Tay 'passand and repassand' cost the pursemaster 44s. Having gone to Edinburgh on 2 May, three days later he decided to rejoin his wife at St Andrews. After a fortnight's inactivity he returned to Edinburgh on 21 May, only to be recalled in haste the following day for the birth of

[1] *RSS*, ii, nos. 3444-51, show that the King remained at Linlithgow until 13 March. Two entries in the accounts suggest that the pursemaster had remained in Edinburgh on this occasion. On 6 March £200 was sent to Linlithgow 'to the kingis graice' and on 7 March 3s. was paid to McKesoun 'that come fra Lynlythqw fra the kingis graice to Edinburght erandys'.

[2] *RSS*, ii, nos. 3456-8.

[3] Both *RSS*, ii, no. 3471, and the pursemaster's account place the King at Grange (probably near Burntisland) on 6 April.

[4] Probably at the shrine of St Margaret, whose aid was invoked in royal childbirths (*TA*, i, p. lxxiii).

[5] SRO, Despences de la Maison Royale (E. 34), no. 1, pt. 7, f. 1.

[6] *RSS*, ii, no. 3482, shows that the King was still at Pitlethie on 1 May 1540. James V resided at Pitlethie on various occasions from June 1538 onwards and a number of royal charters were dated there: Liber Emptorum (E. 32), no. 7, f. 105; *RMS*, iii, p. 1028.

his son, James, Prince of Scotland. The account breaks off on 23 May 1540.

In view of James's evident mobility, it is not surprising to find that his travelling expenses, such as 'fraucht' or hire of boats, formed a recurring item of the pursemaster's expenditure. Another item can be described best as gratuities, including 'drink silver', rewards to servants bringing salmon, game, 'aquavite' (whisky) and other presents from their masters, and sums bestowed in alms, charity and offerings to the Church. Payments were also made to pursuivants carrying royal letters,[1] to footmen sent on 'errands' and to the 'fisher of Loch Leven' and others, who kept the King supplied with fresh fish and other delicacies. The King's sports and amusements involved the pursemaster in considerable outlays of money. Apart from meeting any debts incurred at cards and dice, he also had to pay for lost tennis-balls. Outdoor sports included falconry and payments were made to the falconers, one of whom was sent to the 'Northland' for hawks. As well as wildfowl the King hunted deer and hares. A servant, Badman, was employed to find 'sittand hares' and received £5 10s. to 'by hyme ane hors'. The pursemaster also paid for the keep of the royal 'hare dogs', 'earth dogs' (terriers) and 'raches' (dogs hunting by scent). His own prowess as a huntsman appears in a somewhat dubious light. On 10 November 1539, 5s. was paid for three geese and on 18 April 1540 another 10s. for two lambs, 'that Jhone Tennand sclew'. Finally the accounts contain some miscellaneous expenditure, which defies classification. Purves, 'that makis the knockis', was paid for repairing a clock and Mosman, the goldsmith, received 44s. for making 'ane cleik to the quenis belt'. A number of items appear to have been purchases for the Wardrobe, in addition to the pittance of 22s. paid to 'ane woman that weschis the schetis of the gardrope' for six months' drudgery.

Though it is tempting to look for some administrative link between the Purse and the Wardrobe, the only connexion appears to be the personal one provided by Tennant himself. It may have been convenient, on occasion, for him to use the funds in his hands as pursemaster to meet some of his expenditure as yeoman of the Wardrobe, but the greater part of the Wardrobe's expenditure was still defrayed

[1] It should be noted, however, that the Treasurer was still responsible for the payment of royal messengers (*TA*, vii, 282, 298, etc.).

by the Treasurer.[1] In fact, the pursemaster's accounts were themselves an offshoot of the Treasurer's accounts. Such items as the 'bruther of Sande Moncrieiffis that hade ane brokin heyd', the 'tua Dugemen that playt and dansyt apone the schore of Sanctandrois before the kingis graice', the 'Yrland woman', who came 'for redemyne of hyr barnis that wer tane in the contreth' and the chain 'of yrne to leyd Bawte the doge in'[2] are reminiscent of those picturesque passages in the Treasurer's accounts of James IV's reign, which have been the delight of the biographer and the historical novelist.

From 1501, if not earlier, the Treasurer's expenditure was classified under various heads. One of these, 'Bursa Regis', the King's purse, comprised a large number of miscellaneous payments, not susceptible of more exact definition. Between 6 August 1506 and 6 September 1507 no less than £8,583 was paid out under this heading, which included five payments 'to the King himself in his purs', amounting to little more than £80.[3] Earlier accounts had included certain sums 'gevin to the King himself be the Thesaurare',[4] but it appears that the latter had to be in fairly close attendance on the King to furnish this money, as and when it was required. It may be surmised that the payments to the King's own purse, which first appear in December 1504,[5] were made when it was impossible for the Treasurer, or someone acting on his behalf, to be present. Some confirmation of this is provided by entries in the accounts. Between May and July 1506 there were four payments, amounting to £102. The last and largest of these was made on 29 July, 100 French crowns (£70), 'to the King himself in his aun purs quhen he passit to saill'.[6] On 1 February 1506–7, the Treasurer gave the King £13 15s., and on 13 February 1506–7 and 2 July and 6 August 1507 respectively, 20 French crowns (£14). The reason for these payments is not stated, but on 28 August 1507 the King was given £26 'in his purs quhen he raid alane to the Month'.[7]

[1] Ibid., 253–4, 259, 261–6, etc.

[2] Bawtie, i.e. Bartholomew, appears in Sir David Lyndsay's 'Complaynt and publict confessioun of the Kingis auld hound, callit Bagsche, directit to Bawtie, the Kingis best belovit dog and his companyeonis' (*Works*, ed. Laing, i, 110–18).

[3] *TA*, ii, 96, 329. Some classifications of payments appears in accounts before 1501, but the categories do not seem to have been fixed until then.

[4] *TA*, i, 169, 235.

[5] *TA*, ii, 471. There are some earlier payments to the King 'to put in ane new purs', but the significance of these cannot be determined (*TA*, ii, 357, 389, 430, 471).

[6] *TA*, iii, 194, 198, 205, 207.

[7] *TA*, iii, 365, 368, 399, 408, 414.

Between September 1507 and July 1508 money was paid into the purse on four occasions only, the total being £97.[1]

The limited number of payments and the smallness of the sums involved show that the Treasurer had not yet delegated his responsibility for furnishing the King with ready money. This development, however, can be discerned in 1511. On 6 October £50 was sent to Leith to be 'in the Kingis awne purs and dispositioun', when he sailed in the *Margaret* ' Strivelingwart'. John Forman, who took the money to Leith, again appeared in the Treasurer's account twelve days later, when he received 100 French crowns, which were 'deliverit and spendit as the King commandit hym'.[2] On 29 January 1511-12 he got six crowns 'to be destribut at the Kingis plesour' and, on 3 July 1512, £40 2s. 'at the Kingis command, to be disponit in his necessaris, and to wait one hyme'.[3]

The Dean of Glasgow, Robert Forman, also acted on behalf of the Treasurer at this time. Various payments or purchases are noted as being recorded in the 'Dene of Glasgewis buk'.[4] On 21 August 1512 the Treasurer sent him £10 10s. 'to begyne the new compt' and in the course of the following month he received five payments, totalling £197 6s. 8d. 'for the burse'.[5] This suggests that the arrangements for the King's purse had been put on a more formal footing and that the purse itself had been committed to the Dean's care. On the other hand, only three payments to him appear in the Treasurer's account for the period October 1512 to August 1513, one of £8 10s. on 20 October 1512, another of £60 on 15 December 1512, 'for the furnessing of the Kingis purs the tyme His Grace past to Quhitcherne', and the last of £14 on 14 January 1512-13. On 7 April 1513, £30 was 'gevin to the King him self in his purs'.[6] So the exact nature of the changes made in August 1512 remains obscure. Whatever development had taken place was brought to an end by the King's death a year later.

During James v's minority no occasion would arise for the services of a pursemaster, but soon after his 'erection', in 1524, William Hamilton of McNairstoun was appointed to the office for life, at an annual salary of £40.[7] Despite its terms, the appointment was clearly of brief

[1] *TA*, iv, 74, 80, 106, 135. [2] Ibid., 213, 314. [3] Ibid., 328, 352.
[4] Ibid., 174, 206, 237. [5] Ibid., 371. [6] Ibid., 396, 400, 403, 408.
[7] *RSS*, i, no. 3273.

duration, for by October 1525 Henry Kemp of Thomastoun was receiving sums for the purse. Once again the amounts involved were small, £20 in October 1525, 'at the Kingis ridding to Striveling', £5 in November, £11 in January 1525-6 and £26 in the following July. The last of these payments were recorded along with other miscellaneous expenditure under the head of 'Bursa Regis'.[1]

The Treasurer's account for 1529-30 has two sections headed 'Bursa Regis', the first comprising miscellaneous payments and the second one item only, namely a total of £407 'deliverit to the Kingis purs, within the tyme of this compt'. Closer examination of the first section shows that, although the account itself runs to October 1530, most of the items are dated before February of that year.[2] This suggests that early in 1530 responsibility for certain expenditure was transferred from the Treasurer to the pursemaster. This is confirmed by the account for 1530-31. Under the heading 'Bursa Regis' appears an item of £1,878 9s. 3d. 'gevin to small expens to the Kingis purs', together with two smaller payments to Henry Kemp. As the account extended over a period of 48½ weeks, the total of £1,964 6s. indicates that expenditure from the purse was of the order of £40 a week.[3] If this is compared with Tennent's account, it will be found that, by 1540, it had increased to £55 a week. Part of the increase can be attributed to the fact that from September 1536[4] the expense of keeping the King's dogs had ceased to be charged on the Treasurer's account and, as we have seen, by 1540 this had become the responsibility of the pursemaster.

The loss of Kemp's accounts of the purse makes it difficult to judge the immediate effect of the change made in 1530.[5] Tennent's accounts, however, show that the payments made by the pursemaster include not only those previously made by the Treasurer under the head of 'Bursa Regis' but also some formerly appearing in other sections of the latter's accounts. A common feature of nearly all the payments is the small sums involved. At Easter 1540 the King's Almoner received £20, probably for distribution to the poor, and, on 30 March 1540, £40 was given to Sir James Hamilton. Apart from these only five

[1] *TA*, v, 252-4, 276. The classification of payments in the earlier Treasurer's accounts of James v's reign does not follow a uniform system.

[2] Ibid., 385-90. [3] Ibid., 437-8. [4] *TA*, vi, 289, 302.

[5] In 1535, £10 was paid to Master George Cuke 'for his laubouris doune in writing of the comptis of the purs, and uthir service' (ibid., 262).

other payments between March and May 1540 exceeded £10. The term 'small expens', used in 1530, was indeed an accurate description.

The Treasurer's account for 1531-32 shows John Tennent receiving money for the purse, as well as Henry Kemp, but the discrepancy between the sums involved, £90 as against £449, clearly shows that Tennent was acting in a subordinate capacity. Again, in 1533-34, Tennent received a total of £60 and Kemp a total of £1,773 6s. 8d. £200 was paid to the King himself, making £2,033 6s. 8d. in all. Between August 1535 and February 1535-6 Kemp obtained £446 13s. 4d. from the Treasurer[1] and thereafter no further payments to the purse appeared in the Treasurer's accounts until September 1539. Oliver Sinclair, who accompanied James V to France in September 1536, kept the purse during his stay there. Sinclair continued to hold the office of pursemaster for at least a year after the King's return to Scotland. Reference was made in 1540 to 'Oliver Sinclaris comptis of the Kingis purs', which may be identified with 'ane compt maid be Oliver Sincler 1538' in Skene's inventory of Exchequer records.[2] Tennent was in office by November 1539, if not earlier.

While James V was in France, Sinclair drew money for the purse from certain funds in the hands of David Beaton.[3] There is no direct evidence to show the source from which the purse was supplied after the King's return. Even before 1536 it is evident that the payments by the Treasurer were inadequate. If £1,964 was needed in 1530-31, £449 would be insufficient in 1531-32. Again only £446 was provided by the Treasurer in 1535-36, as against £2,033 in 1533-34. The answer to the problem seems to lie in one of the obscurer aspects of James V's finances, the funds held by the King himself.

As early as August 1524 Henry Kemp was appointed keeper of the King's coffers,[4] which appear to be identical with the mysterious 'boxes', of which more will be said later. Though his revenues were inadequate even to meet the cost of the royal Household, James started to build up a 'poise' or treasure. In 1527 the merchants of Middelburg paid him 2,000 merks for ratification of the agreement for settling the Scottish staple there, £1,000 of which was appropriated to meet the expenses of the Household. Although the remainder was

[1] Ibid., 35, 201, 202, 259.
[2] *TA*, vii, 414; Tabill of the Cheker Rollis, f. 105.
[3] *TA*, vii, 18, 19, 25.
[4] *RSS*, i, no. 3268.

paid to the Treasurer, he was later required to hand it over to Kemp.[1] Out of the £1,963 6s. paid to Kemp by the Treasurer in the year 1530-31, £33 4s. went into the 'poise'. On the other hand, Kemp delivered £200 to the Master of Work for the new buildings at Holyrood, 'furth of the Kingis pois, with the quhilkis the thesaurare has nacht to be dischargit'.[2] Other items in the accounts suggest that the 'boxes' or 'poise' were supplied partly with money intercepted by the King before it could reach the Treasurer. In his account for 1535-36 the latter received allowances totalling £5,000 for compositions, with which he had been charged but which had been paid to the King himself.[3] Thus, on his arrival at Paris, James was able to produce nearly £19,000 from his 'boxes' to provide the funds with which Kirkcaldy of Grange was to meet his expenses in France.[4] Probably part of this sum came out of the proceeds of the tax granted for these expenses. Taxations, particularly those imposed upon by the clergy, formed an important source of extraordinary income for the King, but he was also able to lay his hands on the revenues of an increasing number of abbeys and priories by installing his illegitimate sons as commendators. All these helped to finance his projects, such as new buildings at Holyrood, Stirling and elsewhere, and to swell his 'poise'.[5]

If we then turn to Tennent's accounts of the purse, the same sort of pattern becomes apparent. The Treasurer's accounts show that, between September 1539 and August 1540, £1,428 19d. 8d.[6] was paid into the purse. But Tennent's own accounts indicate that he received over £2,200 up to 3 March 1539-40 and £1,804 1s. 8d. between that date and 27 August 1540. Unfortunately his detailed charge for the first period is entirely lacking, while that for the second period is defective, at least two entries having been lost. It shows, however, that he received five payments from the Treasurer and one from the Clerk of Treasury, amounting to £850 13s. 4d. This suggests that at least half the money for the purse was derived from sources outside the Treasurer's control. Furthermore, it appears that in the period covered by the first account only £578 6s. 4d., about a quarter of the total, can have come from the Treasurer. As we have seen, the

[1] *TA*, v, 294, 332; R. K. Hannay, 'Shipping and the Staple, 1515-1531', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, ix, 67-77. [2] *TA*, v, 433, 438. [3] *TA*, vi, 267.
[4] *TA*, vi, 449-50. A further £253 was provided by Kemp himself.
[5] *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, i (1957), 234-9. [6] *TA*, vii, 331.

Treasurer made no payments at all to the purse in the three years preceding September 1539.

Though it is possible to ascertain what proportion of Tennent's receipts was derived from the Treasurer, it is more difficult to determine whence came the remainder. The £200 received from John and Patrick Grant on 5 March 1539-40 was almost certainly the *gressum* or composition on feu-charters granted by the bishop of Moray to John Grant of Ballindalloch and his brother, to which Tennent was a witness. This sum, which appears to have been handed over intact to the King the following day, was refunded to the Bishop by the Treasurer before the end of the month.[1] On 26 July 1540 Tennent received £110 from the abbot of Melrose. This was probably part of the sum of £159, arrears of the 'great tax' imposed on the clergy, for which the King granted a discharge to the abbot on 24 July 1540.[2] The remaining items in the charge produce an added complication. Evidently there were two purses: the 'purse of expenses', kept by Tennent, and the 'playe purse'. On at least eleven occasions the 'purse of expenses' was supplied with money out of the 'playe purse', amounting to over £600. The term 'playe purse' is completely obscure, no reference to it appearing in any other source. Perhaps it contained the King's winnings at cards or gaming. On the other hand, four of the payments amounted to £110 and a fifth to £120, which would indicate an unusual amount of gambler's luck, even for a king. Smaller amounts do appear, but as four such payments are recorded on the same day, 30 March 1540, this may be no more than a matter of bookkeeping, whereby separate entries were made for different types of coins.

Some of the coins mentioned were English: angel nobles (valued at 30s. Scots), Harry nobles (48s.) and rose nobles (53s.). There are also references to Scottish groats, 'riders' and 'unicorns'. On 27 July 1540 the pursemaster was given sixty of the newly minted ducats or 'bonnet pieces', worth three merks (40s.) each. On 27 August he received another four of these, as well as some of the smaller 'bonnet pieces', namely eight 'twa part' (2-3rd) ducats (two merks) and six 'thrid part' (1-3rd) ducats (one merk).[3] It appears, however, that

[1] *Moray Registrum*, nos. 308, 343; *TA*, vii, 297.
[2] *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, ed. R. K. Hannay (1932), 492.
[3] Below, p. 32, n. 6. See also illustration of a 'bonnet piece', p. 11.

Scottish coins did not form the majority of those handled by the pursemaster. This is shown by the large number of payments of 11s., 22s. or 44s. in his discharge, as well as receipts of £110 in his charge. Just as James IV's purse had been supplied with French crowns, so his son's appears to have been filled with Spanish ducats, This fact is established by several references to double ducats, worth 44s.[1] The use of ducats (22s.) explains the odd amounts paid and £110 in the charge would be equivalent to 100 ducats.

Little can be said of the history of the purse after August 1540. Payments to it are recorded in the Treasurer's accounts in nearly every month from November 1540 to August 1541 and from January to May 1542.[2] On 7 July 1542 £66 was 'gevin to the Kingis grace in the abbay of Halyrudehous to his awin purs' and five days later £200 was sent to Peebles 'to Johnne Tenent to the furnessing of the Kingis purs'. The last recorded payment was 200 merks on 9 August 1542.[3] Four months later the King's death brought Tennent's career to an end and with it the office of pursemaster.

This brief survey has attempted to bring together all that is known about the royal purse under James v. Much remains obscure, but this, unfortunately, is true of the whole financial history of the reign. While the accounts of the ordinary revenue of the crown have largely survived, little evidence has remained of the extraordinary sources of income, which the King exploited so successfully.[4] It is some measure of his success that, eight months after his death, £26,000 still remained 'of the money of the tresour, pois and boxis of umquhill our derrest fader'.[5] For, in the words of Bishop Leslie, 'this guid and modest prince did not devour and consume the riches of his cuntrey, for he by his heich pollicye mervellouslie riched his realme and him selfe, both with gold and silver, all kinde of riche substance, quhairof he left greyt stoir and quantyte in all his palices at his departing'.[6]

★

[1] In 1545 double ducats of Spain and Portugal were ordained to be current for 48s. Scots (*Reg. Privy Council*, i, 10). The increase from 44s. to 48s. between 1540 and 1545 is in line with the general depreciation of Scots money at that time.

[2] *TA*, vii, 403, 409, 424, 442, 447, 452; viii, 51, 58, 69, 75. [3] *TA*, viii, 87, 89, 112.

[4] A warrant addressed to the 'auditouris of our comptis of the priory of Sanctandros' in 1540 is one of the few surviving documents relating to James v's administration of the church revenues granted to his sons: *TA*, vii, 362. [5] *RSS*, iii, no. 383.

[6] *History of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, 1830), 167.

In printing the accounts punctuation and capitals have been standardised and contractions extended. Spelling is given as in the original, except in the case of u and v, which were interchangeable, where the latter has been used throughout for the consonantal form and the former for the vowel. The consonant 'yogh' has been rendered as y. Gaps in the text caused by the loss of parts of the MS. are indicated by dots, but in many cases it has been possible to supply the missing words or figures. Matter which has been so supplied has been placed within square brackets. In a few cases the words supplied were inadvertently omitted by the writer of the original MS. These are indicated by footnotes. Notes have been given of the meaning of some unusual words appearing in the text, but no general glossary has been attempted. Most of the persons appearing in the account are mentioned by name only, without any designation. The majority were clearly connected with the royal Household or in the King's service. As far as possible they have been identified from other references in the *Treasurer's Accounts* and *Exchequer Rolls*, but in some cases this identification can only be tentative. A.L.M.

DISCHARGE : 8–17 NOVEMBER 1539

1*r*. Anno xxxix[1]

Item the viii day of November in Sanctandrois gevin to the fischar of Lochlevin, xxii s.

Item that samyn day to Wille Man the falconar, xliiii s.

Item gevin that samyn day to Cauldwollis the falconar[2] at the kingis command, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin to George the futman to gang erandis of the kingis, v s.

Item that samyn day gevin to Hob Ormiston to ryd erandis of the kingis grace, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin to lady Jenys[3] nwres at the kingis command, xxii s.

Item x day of November for fraucht at the Quenis Ferre, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin for tua battis out of Kingorn to the Quenis Ferre, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin to the kingis pagis, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin to Baxter the falconar[4] for ane halk to the kingis grace, v li. x s.

Item that samyn day gevin to Sande Kemp[5] to ryd erandis of the kingis, xxii s.

Item that samyn day to tua felowis that fand heronis to the kingis grace, v s.

Item tynt that samyn day in the kingis purs passand at the Quenis Ferre, lx li. x s.[6]

Item that samyn day for thre geis that Johnne Tennend slew, v s.

Item xiii day of November in Melros gevin to ane servand of schir James Hammyltonis[7] that brocht wrytingis to the kingis grace, x s.

Summa lateris lxxviii li. v s.

[1] This heading is repeated on folios 1*v*. and 2*r*.

[2] John Caldwell, falconer (*ER*, xvii, 354).

[3] Jane or Jean Stewart, the King's illegitimate daughter, later countess of Argyll (*Scots Peerage* (*SP*), i, 25).

[4] Baxter was John Tennent's falconer (*TA*, vii, 289).

[5] Groom in the King's Chamber (*TA*, vii, 332).

[6] Altered from 'lv li.'. In margin: 'Memorandum'.

[7] Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, Master of Work, executed 16 August 1540: *Dictionary of National Biography* (*DNB*).

1*v*.

Item that samyn day gevin to Wille Bell[1] out of Melros to Falkland with wyld mete to the quenis grace, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin to David Spens falconar at the kingis command, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin to ane servand of the abbottis of Melros that brocht ane hors to the kingis grace in bridill silver, xxii s.

Item that samyn day tynt at the tablis be the kingis grace with the cardinall,[2] v li. x s.

Item that samyn day to ane servand of the quenis that brocht wrytingis out of Falkland to Kelso to the kingis grace, iii li. vi s.

Item xiiii day November in Kelso gevin to ane servand of the lady Cauldstremys[3] that brocht bakin salmont to the kingis grace, xxii s.

Item that samyn day to ane servand of my l. Flemeingis that brocht wild mete to the kingis grace, v s.

Item xvi November in Kelso gevin to ane prestis first mess, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin to David Spens falconar at the kingis command, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin to the cordilere freris[4] in almos, xxii s.

Item xvii day of November in Kelso gevin to ane servand of schir James Hammyltonis that brocht wodkokis to the kingis grace, x s.

Item that samyn day to Johne Leslie youngar at the kingis command, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin to ane boye of George Ormstonis that brocht wild mete to the kingis grace, v [s].

Summa lateris xviii li. xii s.

2*r*.

Item the secund day of Marche in Edinburgh gevin to Johnne Lowis[5] to by him sarkis, xxii s.

Item that samyn day gevin in drink silver to the cunyehous, x s.

Item that samyn day gevin to Margret Hammylton that duellis with the auld quene,[6] xxii li.

[1] Groom in the great larder (*TA*, vii, 333). [2] David Beaton.

[3] Jonet Hoppringill, prioress of Coldstream (*Coldstream Chartulary*, xxx-xxxii).

[4] Observantines or Franciscans of the strict order, so called from the knotted cord worn by them round the waist. The reference appears to be to the Friars of Roxburgh, not otherwise recorded as an Observantine House (Easson, *Religious Houses*, 108).

[5] The King's fool (*RSS*, ii, no. 3324).

[6] Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV.

Item that samyn day gevin to Hob Ormstoun at the kingis command, v li. x s.

Summa particule, xxix li. ii s.

Summa trium foliorum[1] cum particule, iiii^{c} v li. xvii s. ii d.

Summa harum expensarum, ii^{m}ii. .^{c}. . [li.] xii s. vi d. Et sic superexpos[uit compotans, x]lvii li. xii s. vi d.

JA. . . .[2]
JAS. CLS. REGISTRI
HE. BALNAVIS
H. LAUDER

2*v*. (*blank*)

CHARGE: 3 MARCH 1539-40—27 AUGUST 1540

3*r*.

Oneratio Johannis Tenand ex bursa s[upremi domini] nostri regis a tercio Mercii anno domini &c. [xxxix^{o}].

Item resavit the fyft daye of Marche in the samyn yere fra Jhone Grant and Patrik Grant[3] at the kingis graice command, ii^{c} lib.

Item resavit the xxiii daye of Marche out of the kingis graice playe purs and put in to the purs of expensis at the kingis graice command, i^{c}x lib.

Anno domini etc. [xl^{o}][4]

Item resavit the penult daye of Marche out of the kingis graice playe purs and put in to the purs of expensis at the kingis graice command, i^{c}x lib.

Item the samyn daye resavit out of the kingis graice playe purs and put in to the purs of expensis thre ros nobillis extendand to vii lib. xix s.

Item the samyn daye resavit out of the playe purs and put in to the purs of expensis tua Hare nobillis extendand to iiii lib. xvi s.

[1] The clerk has started to write 'immediate pre[cedentium]' but has scored it out.

[2] The MS. is badly torn at this point and part of these two letters has gone. They may have been the beginning of the King's signature, but the resemblance is not strong. The other signatures are those of James Foulis of Colinton, Clerk-Register, Henry Balnaves, Clerk of Treasury, and Henry Lauder of St Germains, HM Advocate.

[3] John Grant of Ballindalloch and Patrick Grant, his brother. See above, p. 26.

[4] In margin.

Item the samyn daye resavit out[of][1] the playe purs and put in to the purs of expensis nyne angell nobillis extendand to xv lib. vi s.

Item [the samyn] daye resavit out of the playe [purs and put in]to the purs of expensis ane [doubill ducate extendand to] xliiii s.

[*One or two entries lost here*]

3*v*.

Item resavit the xi daye of Aprile[2] in Falkland fra maister David Ramsay servand to maister Henry Balnavys,[3] i^{c}xx lib.

Item the xvi daye of Aprile resavit out of the kingis graice playe purs and put in to the purs of expensis, i^{c}x lib.

Item resavit out of the playe purs the xxiii daye of Maye and put in to the purs of expensis, i^{c}x lib.

Item resavit the first daye of June fra maister Andro Kyrkcaldy servand to my lord thesaurer[4] in name of the samyn, v^{c} lib. in half rydaris.

Item resavit the vi daye of July fra my lord thesaurer, i^{c}x lib.

Item resavit the xxvi daye of July fra the abbot of Melros at the kingis graice command, i^{c}x [lib].

Item resavit the xxvii daye of July out of the kingis graice playe purs and put in to [the] purs of expensis in new strickyne g[old that] is to saye iii^{xx} of new pecys ilk [pece be]and xl s., summa i^{c}xx [lib].

Item resavit out of the samyn . . . straik xxviii pecys ilk p[ece] . . . summa . . .

Item [resavit ou]t . . .

[*One or two entries lost here*]

4*r*.

Item resavit the samyn daye out of the playe purs and put in to the purs of expensis in grotis, vi lib. x s.

Item resavit the xxvii daye of August fra the thesaurer, iiii^{xx} viii lib.

Item resavit iiii new ducatis[5] viii twa part ducatis and vi thrid part ducatis[6] extendand to xxii li. xiii s. iiii d.

[1] Omitted in MS. [2] 'Marche' deleted.

[3] Henry Balnaves of Halhill, Clerk of Treasury, d. 1579 (*DNB*).

[4] Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange, Treasurer 1538-43, d. 1556 (*DNB*).

[5] 'Twa of thame twa' deleted. The whole entry has been added after the rest of the account was written and is in the same hand as the totals.

[6] The coins were gold 'bonnet pieces' of James v, minted 1539-40, namely one ducat (three merks or 40s.), 2-3 ducat (two merks) and 1-3 ducat (one merk). The 60 'new pecys' of gold paid into the purse on 27 July were also one ducat 'bonnet pieces'. (E. Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, ii (1887), 250-1.)

Summa huius particule i^{c}xvii li. iii s. iiii d.
Summa totalis oneracionis i^{m}viii^{c}iiii li. xx d.

4v. (*blank*)

DISCHARGE : 3 MARCH 1539-40—23 MAY 1540

5r.

Expense Johannis Tenand ex bursa supremi domini nostri regis a tercio die mensis Mercii inclusive anno domini &c. xxxix^{o}

Item[1] in his superexpenses of his last compt maid to the said thrid daye, xlvii li. xii s. vi d.

Item gevin the thrid daye of Marche in Edinburght to the fischar of Loichlevin that brocht fresche fischis divers tymes to the kingis graice, xxxvi s.

Item gevin to David Denynstoun the ferd daye of Marche for pennis gevin to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Gilbert Muncreif[2] at the kingis graice command, iiii lib. viii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Jhone Mosman goldsmyth for makin of ane cleik to the quenis belt, xliiii s.

Item gevin to Thome lady Janys man the samyn daye at the kingis grace command, iii lib. vi s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Sande Quhitlaw[3] to ryde erandis of the kingis gracis, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to lady Janys nuris, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane menstrale callit Hare lutar at the kingis graice command, xliiii s.

Item gevin the vi daye of Merche to the futmen at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Jhone Barbour[4] at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item to Thome and Harrot falconaris the samyn daye at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

[1] This entry has been added in a different hand from the rest of the account.
[2] Groom in the Queen's Chamber (*TA*, vii, 119).
[3] Groom in the King's Chamber (*TA*, vii, 332).
[4] Groom in the Wardrobe (*TA*, vii, 333); John Tennent's servant in 1537 (*TA*, vi, 340).

Item gevin to Barrone falconar the samyn daye at the kingis graice command, xi s.

[Item] the samyn daye send with maister Williame . . . Lynlythqw to the kingis graice quhilk was . . . grant,[1] ii^{c} lib.

[Summa lateris ii^{c}lxviii] li. xiii s. iiii d.

5v.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Duncane Dawsone,[2] v lib. x s.

Item gevin to Sawle the vii daye of Merche that kepis the kingis graice hare doggis and payt for all thyngis bigane to the viii daye of the samyn monetht, iii lib.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Mckesoun[3] that come fra Lynlythqw fra the kingis graice to Edinburght erandys, iii s.

Item the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Badman that fyndis harys to the kingis, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the fischar of Loichlevin that brocht fresche fischis to Lynlythqw to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Stewart fischar, xiiii s.

Item gevin to Purwes cutlare for tua chapis to quhynyearis[4] of sylver to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item payt to Snawdoun[5] for the kyngis gracis rechis for all thyngis bigane to the xiiii daye of Marche comptand for xv days, viii lib. viii s.

Item gevin to Hobe Ormestoun the xiiii daye of Marche at the kingis graice command, xliiii s.

Item gevin the xv daye of Marche to Wille Bell in Stervling for ballis tynt in his cachepeill[6] be the kingis graice . . .

Item the samyn daye given for spur [sylver][7] the kingis graice beand in the chapell of [Sterv]lyng at hys gracis command . . .

Summa lateris xxv . . . .

[1] This entry appears to relate to the £200 paid to the pursemaster by John and Patrick Grant on 5 March.

[2] Duncan Dawson was the King's Master Collier for over 50 years, under James III, James IV and James V (*Acts of Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, ed. R. K. Hannay (1932), 419, 470). [3] Lackey (*TA*, vii, 296). [4] Metal tips for daggers or short swords.

[5] Geordie Snawdoun kept the King's raches, dogs hunting by scent.

[6] Cachpule, a court in which the game of hand tennis was played.

[7] A fine exacted by choristers from those entering church wearing spurs during divine service (*TA*, i, p. ccxxxiv).

6r.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of dene Andro Murchedis channone of Scone that brocht rose waltyr[1] to the kingis graice to Stervling, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Purwes that makis the knockis[2] for mendin of ane knok at the kingis graice command, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to the pagis, xii s.

Item the xvi daye of Marche in Falkland gevin to ane pure woman that come erandis out of Sanctandrois to the kingis graice at his gracis command, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane man that brocht wrytingis fra the queyne out of Stervling to Falkland and bakin salmond, xxii s.

Item gevin the xix daye of Marche in Sanctandrois in bridill sylver to ane servand of my l. secretaris[3] that brocht ane hors to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Pate Ogilvy pursyvand to by hyme his gracis armys becaus he commandyt to deliver his armys to ane servand of the lard of Brwntstonys[4] to pas in France, iii lib. vi s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Kellys[5] for ballis tynt be the kingis graice in the cachepeill of Sanctandrois, xxii s.

Item gevin the xx daye of Marche to the bar[ro]w men at wrocht at the Brynteland at the kingis command, xxii s.

[Summa] lateris xiii li. iiii s.

6v.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the wrychttis in to the Brynt Eland at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

[1] Rosewater. [2] William Purves, clockmaker (*RSS*, ii, no. 3295).

[3] Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, HM Secretary 1526-43.

[4] Alexander Crichton of Brunstane. In December 1539 he was sent to France with 'writtingis'. On his return voyage in February 1540 he was driven ashore in northern England and some incriminating letters taken from him were later shown to James v by the English ambassador. At that date he was described as the Cardinal's servant but later he was one of those plotting Beaton's assassination. (*TA*, vii, 275; *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, xvi, 89; *RSS*, ii, no. 3117; Knox, *History*, ii, 385-6).

[5] Thomas Watson alias Kellis and his wife were given the profits of the King's cachpules at St Andrews, Falkland, Linlithgow, Edinburgh and Stirling, 22 February 1539-40 (*RSS*, ii, no. 3394).

Item to the kingis graice to playe at the tabillis in to the schipe passand upe to Stervlinge and tynt, xv s.

Item to ane drege boite[1] the samyn daye to wait apone the kingis graice apone the see, xi s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to the fischar of Loichlevin that brocht fresche fischis to the kingis graice in Stervling, xxii s.

Item gevin the xxi daye of Marche to ane servand of schir James Hammyltonis that brocht pranis[2] to the kingis graice, v s.

Item gevin the samyn daye for ane sclope[3] and ane payre of brekis and for the makyne of thame of greyne clayth, xxviii s. vi d.

Item gevin the xxii daye of Marche at the kingis command to Stewart the fischar that brocht fresche fischis to Stervling to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the xxiiii daye Marche to tua servandis of schir James Hammyltonis that brocht pranis and fresche fischis to the kinge, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of George Ormestonis that brocht wild meyt to the kingis graice, [xi s.].

Item the samyn daye gevin to ane servand of P[atrick] Brusis of Kennet that brocht appillis [to the kingis graice xi s].

Summa lateris vii li. vii [s. vi d].

7r.

Anno domini &c quadragesimo[4]

Item gevin the xxv daye of Marche to the fischar of Loichlevin that brocht fresche fischis to the kingis graice, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn to Fresell falconar at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the abbot of Newbottillis that brocht ane fed oxe to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard Gylbabyrtonis[5] that brocht ane fed bare[6] to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the xxvi daye of Marche to ane serwand of schir Hew Grays that brocht wild geys to the kingis graice, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Ryche Carmychell at the kingis graice command to by ane hors wyth, vi lib. xii s.

[1] A fishing boat using a drag-net.
[2] Prawns.
[3] A loose jacket or other outer garment.
[4] In margin.
[5] Henry Wardlaw of Kilbaberton (*RSS*, ii, no. 3693).
[6] Boar.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Stewart the fischar at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard of Knokhyllis that brocht venasone and aquavite to the kingis graice, v s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to tua servandis of the lard of Glenurquhartis that brocht venasone and aquavite to the kingis graice, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Georde Ormestoun gunnar at the kingis graice command, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the pagys at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane boye of Sande [Edmes]tonis that brocht wild mete to the kingis graice, ii s.

[Summa lateris] xvii li. xvii s.

7*v*.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to M^c^nellene the falconar boye, v s.

Item the samyn daye gevin at the kingis graice command to Harrot the falconar, viii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye quhilk was gudfriday for the kingis graice offerand in to the chapel, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the abbot of Loundoris that brocht ane fed oxe to the kingis graice, xiiii s.

Item the samyn daye at the kingis graice command gevin to the maister almosar, xx lib.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of schir James Hammyltonis that brocht writingis to the kingis graice, vi s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to ane servand of James Campbellis that brocht venasoun to the kingis graice, x s.

Item gevin the xxvii daye of Marche to ane servand of my lord of Ergalys that brocht venasoun and aquavite to the kingis graice, xiiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the abbote of Cowperis that brocht venasoun to the kingis graice, xiiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lady Erskynnis that brocht lamper elys[1] to the kingis graice, v s.

[1] Lampreys.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand [of] the erle of Munthethis that brocht pykis [an]d rays to the kingis graice, . . .

Summa lateris. . . .

8*r*.

Item gevin the samyn daye[1] to ane servand of my lord of Huntleys that brocht ane harte and foure rays[2] to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the xxviii daye of Marche to ane servand of the lard of Knokhyllis that brocht aquavite and kyddis to the kingis graice, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard of Lawmontis that brocht aquavite to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Schankis the bard wyfe at the kingis command, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the thesauraris that brocht ane crane to the king, xi s.

Item gevin the xxix daye of Marche at the kingis graice command to Arthure Lytilljhonis[3] servandis for drynk sylver of gere thai brocht, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Thome Arthuris[4] servandis for drynk sylver siclik, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to the blak freris in almus, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice [command][5] to schir Jhone Mare ane pure chaplane, xii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye for the kingis graice offerand in to the chapell, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Thome Robesonis[6] wyf brocht capones to the kingis graice in Stervling, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis g[raice comman]d to the auld franche nuris, xi lib.

[Summa lat]eris xxi lib. xix s.

[1] In margin 'Pace Daye' (Easter Sunday).

[2] Here roe-deer but in the previous entry obviously fish.

[3] Arthur Littlejohn was appointed HM Cordiner, 15 August 1536 (*RSS*, ii, no. 2124).

[4] Thomas Arthur was appointed HM Master Tailor, 28 September 1530 (ibid., no. 739).

[5] Omitted in MS.

[6] Servant of Queen Margaret and tenant of the lands of Cornton, near Stirling (*ER*, xvii, 598, 712).

8*v*.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to the maister cuk,[1] x lib.

Item gevin the penult daye of Merche to the lady of Blakfurd that brocht capones to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the kingis graice ane dowbill ducate with the quhilk I am chergyt, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to schir James Hammyltone, xl li.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to[2] Thome Hammyltonys wif, v lib. x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Jhone Mosman goldsmyth in Edinburght at the kingis graice command to make gere to his grace iiii ridaris, vi lib.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the persone of Dysert[3] at the kingis graice command for ii rydaris[4] gevin to the samyn goldsmyth Mosman, iii lib.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Malcome Toche, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard of Knokhillis that brocht kyddis capones and aquavite to the kingis graice, xv s.

Item the samyn daye to Huchone Rossys boye to pas in to Ross for aquavite to the kingis graice, xiiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the kingis graice to playe with the queyne at the cartis, vii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of my l. Huntleys that brocht ane suane and wild geys to the kingis graice, xii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane pure man at the yet of Stervling at the kingis graice [command, xi s].

Summa lateris lxxii li. v[ii s].

9*r*.

Item gevin the last daye of Merche at the kingis graice command to Tempiltoun,[5] xxii s.

[1] Thomas Marshall (*TA*, vii, 332). [2] 'Schir James Hammyltoun to' deleted.
[3] John Denniston, Auditor of Exchequer (*ER*, xvii, 313; *TA*, vii, 340).
[4] Gold coins minted by James III, showing the King on horseback (E. Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, ii (1887), 147-9).
[5] 'Tempiltoun that drives the soume hors' (sumpter horse) (*TA*, vii, 304).

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Gylliame, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the l. Yesteris that brocht xii pertrickis[1] to the kingis graice, vi s.

Item gevin to Sawle the samyn daye that kepis the kingis graice hare doggis and payt for all thyngis bigane to the viii daye of Merche, iiii lib. ii s.

Item the samyn gevin to Snawdoun and payt to hym for all thyngis bigane to the xxx daye of Merche for the kingis gracis rychis, viii lib. viii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Badman that fyndis the sytand harys to the kingis graice, xliiii s.

Item gevin to M^c^kesone the samyn daye to pas to Sanctandrois erandis of the kingis graicis, viii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the kingis graice to playe at the cartis wyth the queyne and tynt, x s.

Item gevin the secund daye of Aprile in Stervlyng to Malcome Toche at the kingis graice [command][2] and his gracis departin to Falkland, x lib.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Murdo M^c^kenye[3] at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item gevin to men that brocht ane bote and nettis to the loicht of Stervling at the kingis command, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Sande Kempe at the kingis graice command to pas to Edinburght to Doctor Archbutnot, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis gracis command to the pagis, xxii s.

Summa lateris xxxii li. x s.

9*v*.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Purwes smyth of Stervlyng that mayd ane cheynye at the kingis graice command of yrne to leyd Bawte the doge[4] in, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to young Jhone Lesly,[5] xliiii s.

[1] Partridges.

[2] Omitted in MS.

[3] Groom in the King's Chamber (*ER*, xvii, 280; *TA*, vii, 332).

[4] See above, p. 21, n. 2.

[5] Probably son of the fourth earl of Rothes. 'Young' would distinguish him from an uncle of the same name. (*TA*, vii, 204, 275, 315; *SP*, vii, 280, 290.)

Item gevin the samyn daye to Weddall futeman at the kingis graice command to pas erandis, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane boye to pas to the l. Ruthven with ane writing of the kingis gracis, v s.

Item the thrid daye of Aprile tynt at the kache[1] in Sanctandrois wyth the secretar and the lard of Brunstoun, iii lib. vi s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the Cardinalis that brocht pykis to the kingis graicis, ii s.

Item gevin the v daye of Aprile in Sanctandrois to ane servand of the comptrollaris[2] that brocht orengeys to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item the samyn tynt in cachepeile of Sanctandrois with the secretar, iiii lib. viii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis gracis command to Jhone Barbour to by hyme ane hors wyth, vi lib. xii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the maister houshaldis[3] that brocht capones and wyld met to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin in to the Grange[4] to Wylle Orrok the vi daye of Aprile at the kingis graice command, xiiii s.

Item gevin for osteris coft to the kingis graice, v s.

Item gevin the vii daye of Aprile in Stervling to ane preist of the chapell that maid ane palme croice apone palme sundaye to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the viii daye of Aprile to ane boite that had the kyng and the queyne fra Stervlyng to Alluaye [xliiii s].

Summa lateris xxiiii li. xviii s.

10*r*.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of Walter Stewartis that brocht aquavite to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to ane man that bure gere of the quenis out of Stervling to Alluay, iii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye for the kingis and the quenis offerrand in to Dunfermlyng, xliiii s.

Item to ane lytill boyte that waytit apone the kyng and the queyne

[1] Hand-tennis. [2] David Wood of Craig, Comptroller, 1538-43.

[3] There were two Masters of Household, James Learmonth of Dairsie and Patrick Wemyss of Pittenerieff (*ER*, xvii, 279).

[4] Probably Grange, near Burntisland, Fife, the residence of the Treasurer, James Kirkcaldy.

fra thai come fra Stervlyng quhill thai come to Wester Kyngorne, xliiii s.

Item gevin the ix daye of Aprile to the servandis of the tua galionys that rowyt the kyng and the queyne to Rawynniscrage, xv lib. viii s.

Item gevin the samyne daye to the Yrland freris in Rawynniscrage at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item gevin the x daye of Aprile to ane servand of Thome Scottis wif that brocht to Rawynniscrage to the kyngis graice pykis perches and flukis, v s.

Item gevin the samyn daye in Falkland to ane servand of the priour of Portmookis that brocht pykis and perches to the kingis graice, v s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the fyschar of Loichlevin that brocht pykis and elis to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis gracis command to Cule falconar, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Robe Crage tailyeour that brocht gere out of France to the kyng, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of George Stelys[1] at the kingis graice [command][2] that come erandis to Falkland to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Summa lateris xxviii li. xii d.

10*v*.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lady Torris[3] that brocht pykis to the kingis graice in Falkland, x s.

Item the samyn daye to the kingis graice to playe at the cartis with the queyne, x s.

Item the xi daye of Aprile gevin to ane servand of schir Hew Grays that brocht wyld geys to the kingis graice, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the abbot of Loundoris that brocht appillis to the kingis graice to Falkland, v s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard of Bowardys that brocht fed capones to the kingis graice, v s.

[1] George Steel of Knockhill, James v's 'greatest flatterer and the greatest enemy to God that was in his Court' (*RSS*, ii, no. 4131; Knox, *History*, i, 29).

[2] Omitted in MS.

[3] Jonet Chisholm, wife of Sir James Touris of Innerleith (*RMS*, iii, no. 2786).

Item payt to Geordc Snawdoun the samyn daye for the kingis gracis ryches for all thyngis bigane to the xiiii daye of Aprile, viii lib. viii s.

Item gevin the xiii daye of Aprile in Falkland for the weschyne of lady Janys clathis, iii lib. vi s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to ane servand of the erle Huntleys that brocht aquavite and venasoun to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye for the kingis gracis fraucht at Kyngorne, xxii s.

Item gevin the xiiii daye of Aprile to Robene Hwde[1] in Edinburght at the kingis command, xi lib.

Item that samyn daye gevin at the kingis graice command to Jhone Bartoune[2] of Leyth, xliiii lib.

Item that samyn daye gevin to ane servand of the erle of Mortownis that brocht pykis to the kingis graice [xxii s].

Summa lateris lxxii li.

11*r*.

Item the xvi daye of Aprile gevin for the kingis graice fraucht passand our at Leyth to Falkland, xxii s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to ane servand of the erle Merchellis that brocht ane harte and ane suane to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the same daye to Harrot falconar at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item the xvii daye of Aprile gevin to Weddall futman to pas to Edinburght erandis of the kingis, x s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to young Jhone Lesly at the kingis graice command, xliiii s.

Item the samyn daye gevin in to Casche quhar the kingis graice drank he beand at the huntyn, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the fischar of Loichlevin that brocht fresche fyschis to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to ane servand of Olyphere Syngcleris[3] that brocht wyld geys to the kingis graice, xxii s.

[1] For brief accounts of the representation of Robin Hood in Scotland see Walter Scott, *The Abbot*, ch. xiv, n. iii, and M. Macleod Banks, *British Calendar Customs: Scotland* (Folk-lore Society), ii, 210-11.

[2] Eldest son of Robert Barton of Over Barnton (W. S. Reid, *Skipper from Leith* (Philadelphia, 1962), 263, 269-71).

[3] The favourite of James v, who commanded the army at Solway Moss (*DNB*).

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard of Knokhyllis that brocht kyddis to the kingis graice, x s.

Item the samyn daye gevin at the kingis graice command to the quenys potyngar, iii lib. vi s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane bruther of Sande Moncreiffis that had ane brokin heyd at the kingis gracis command, xxii s.

Item payt to Saule the xviii daye of Aprile for the kingis gracis hayre doggys for all thingis bigane to the xxi daye of the samyn moneth, iii lib. vi s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command for ii lammes Jhone Tenand sclew, x s.

Summa lateris xviii li.

II*v*.

Item gevin the samyn daye to men that brocht upe fra the park of Falkland iiii beistis that was sclaine with doggys, iii s.

Item gevin the xix daye of Aprile to Jame Boge[1] of the foreyet at the kingys graice command, iiii lib. viii s.

Item gevin the xx daye of Aprile to ane pardonar of Sanct Felanys that was brocht to the kyngys graice in Falkland, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Jhone Barbour to be disponit as hys graice hes commandyt hyme, v lib. x s.

Item gevin the xxi daye of Aprile at the kingis graice command to Murdo M^{c}kenye in Falkland, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Wille Bell for ane colfer to put the kingis gracis bukis in that wer in Stervling at the kingis graice command, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane woman of Falkland that weschis the schetis of the gardrope for half ane yere bigane, xxii s.

Item the samyn daye gevin at the kingis graice command for takin doune ane lentrene in to Thome Mailvillis in Falkland, xxii s.

Item gevin the xxii days of Aprile in Cowper to ane servand of the lard of Ynchemertynis[2] that brocht wyld geys to the kingis graice, v s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to M^{c}kesone futman to pas erandis at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Summa lateris xvii li. viii s.

[1] Under-porter (*TA*, vii, 274).

[2] Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartin (*RMS*, iii, no. 2327).

12*r*.

Item gevin the samyn daye to the gardnar of Petlethy at the kingis graice command, xxii [s].

Item gevin the xxiii daye of Aprile to ane servand of schir Hew Grays that brocht wyld geys to the kingis graice in Petlethy, xxii s.

Item gevin the xxv daye of Aprile at the kingis graice command to Baxstar falconar to pas in to the Northtland with writingis of the kingis graice for halkis, iii lib. vi s.

Item gevin the xxvi daye of Aprile gevin to ane servand of Thome Arthuris that feyt ane hors to bryng gere to the kingis graice to Petlethy, xvii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane boye of James Watsonis of Dunde that brocht orengeis and alacant wyne[1] to the kingis graice, v s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to George Ormestoun to by pulder with, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye in to Petlethy to ane servand of my lord Huntleis that brocht ane hart and ane hynd to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard of Redpettis to ryde erandis at the kingis graice command, vi lib. xii s.

Item gevin the samyn days at the kingis graice command to Badman that fyndis the harys to by hyme ane hors, v lib. x s.

Item gevin the xxvii daye of Aprile to ane servand of schir Williame Ramsais besyd Petlethy that bringis syndry presentis to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Summa lateris xxii li.

12*v*.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard of Wauchtonis that brocht wyld geys and dotherellis to the kingis graice, xiiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to ane servand of the erle of Cassillis that brocht writingis to his graice to Petlethy, xliiii s.

Item that samyn daye gevin to ane pursyvand at the kingis graice command to pas in to the Ilys with writingis of his gracis, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis gracie command to Jhone Lowis, xxii s.

[1] From Alicante in Spain.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Thome Edmestoun[1] at the kingis graice command, v lib. x s.

Item gevin the xxviii daye of Aprile at the kingis graice command to David Bonaris wif, vi lib. xii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane pure agit woman that met the kingis graice besyd Petlethy, iii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye and payt to Georde Snawdoun for the kingis gracis ryches for all thyngis bigane, viii lib. viii s.

Item payt the samyn daye to Snawdoun for ane boys wage that kepyt the erd doggis with hyme for xv days bigane to the said xxviii daye of Aprile, v s.

Item gevin the last daye of Aprile at Dunde for the kingis graice fraucht passand and repassand, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Jame Scrymgeouris nuris at the kingis graice command, iiii lib. v[iii s].

Summa lateris xxxiii li. xiiii s.

13*r*.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Murdo M^c^kenye to by pulder wyth, xx[ii s].

Item gevin the samyn daye for ane boite in Dunde to pas furtht and get fresche fischis to the kingis graice, x [s].

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the constabill of Dundeis[2] that brocht elis and utheris fresche fischis to the kingis graice in to Dunde, iii s.

Item the first daye of Maye at the kingis graice command gevin to ane servand of the lord Maxwellis that come erandis to his graice, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Georde futman, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard of Erlishallis that brocht lepronys[3] to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Thome Towcht[4] to pas to Edinburght with ane sylver stope to be mendyt, x s.

[1] 'Daylie familiare servitour to oure soverane lord' (*RSS*, ii, no. 4586).

[2] James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, d. February 1544. The infant James Scrymgeour, mentioned on 30 April 1540, was presumably a son of the Constable's second marriage, who must have predeceased him and who is not otherwise recorded (*SP*, iii, 309; viii, 23).

[3] Young rabbits.

[4] Thomas Tulloch, groom in the Wardrobe (*TA*, vii, 333).

Item gevin in the samyn daye to ane cuk boye that was byrnt in to the quenys keche at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to M^c^clellen the falconar boye, ii s.

Item the secund daye of Maye coft fra ane merchand man of Sanctandrois at the kingis graice command tene ellis of clayth to be scloppys and brekis for the see to his graice, iiii lib.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Cule Fresell falconaris, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to by breyd to his gracis hors to Jame Purwes of the stabill, xxii s.

Summa lateris xiiii li. xii d.

13*v*.

Item the samyn daye gevin for the kingis graice fraucht at Kingorne passand to Edinburght, xxii s.

Item gevin the iii daye of May at the kingis graice command for the takin downe of lentrene in to Jhone Tenandis chalmer to the madenys, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the lard of Glenurquhartis that brocht aquavite to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Robe Fogo to pas to the see, xxii lib.

Item the samyn daye gevin to Kellys[1] beand seik at the kingis graice command, xliiii s.

Item gevin the iiii daye of Maye to ane servand of the abbot of Melros that brocht bakyne salmond to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the sameyn daye to servandis of Thome Myrreleys[2] that brocht doune butis and schone to the abbay to the kingis graice in drynk sylver, xxii s.

Item gevin the v daye of Maye at the kingis graice command to Sande Kemp to ryde erandis, xliiii s.[3]

Item gevin the samyn daye for the kingis graice fraucht passand at Leyth to Kingorne, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of Jame Spens that brocht ane bare to the kingis graice in Sanctandrois, xxii s.

[1] 'Grume for the veschell' (*TA*, vii, 333); or perhaps to be identified with Thomas Watson alias Kellis, above, p. 35, n.5 [2] Cordiner (*TA*, vii, 468).

[3] 'To Sande Kemp' has been added in the margin and the figure has been altered from xxii s.'

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane preistis first mess at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item the viii daye of Maye gevin for ii ellis and ane half blak welvot at the kingis graice command to be gevin to the queyne the price of el lvi s., summa vi lib.[1]

Summa lateris xlii li. ii s.

14*r*.

Item gevin the samyn daye to M^c^ke Gurlay[2] for cariage of gere of the kingis gracis out of Edinburght to Sanctandrois, xx[ii s].

Item gevin the samyn daye to the said M^c^ke at the kingis gracis command, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to tua men at caryit ane bare of Jhone Tennandis out of Lodiane for feyt hors and brocht hyme to the kingis graice in Sanctandrois, xxv s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of Williame Woddis[3] that brocht ane fed oxe to the kingis graice to Sanctandrois, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of capitane Loundys that brocht bakin salmond to the kingis graice, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis command to ane Yrland woman that come to Edinburght and Sanctandrois for redemyne of hyr barnis that wer tane in the contretht, iii lib. vi s.

Item gevin the ix daye of Maye to ane pursyvand to pas in to the Ilis with the kingis letteris to caus provisione be maid agane his gracis cumin, vi lib. xii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to certane Ynglis men that was schipe brokin in Orknaye, vi lib. xii s.

Item the x daye of Maye gevin to Wille Strathyrne to pas in the Northtland at the kingis graice command with his gracis letteris, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of schir Mychell Dysert that brocht orengeis to the kingis graice, v s.

Summa lateris xxii li. xviii s.

14*v*.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of Robe Nyllis of Dunde that brocht orengeis to the kingis graice, iii s.

[1] This should be £7 and the page total should be £42 4s.

[2] Malcolm or Makkie Gourley, tailor in the Wardrobe (*TA*, vii, 196, 333).

[3] William Wood of Bonnytoun, the King's servitor (*ER*, xvii, 286; *RMS*, iii, no. 2222).

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the maister houshaldis that brocht syndry tymes fed capones and uther stufe to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of dene Andro Gagys that brocht fed capones to the kingis graice, v s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to lady Janys nuris, xxii s.

Item gevin the xi daye of Maye at the kingis graice command to M^{c}kesone, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the priour of Portmookis that brocht queyk lepronis to the kingis graice, x s.

Item payt to Sawle the samyn daye for the kingis graice hare doggis for all thingis bigane to the xiii daye of Maye, iii lib. xii s.

Item the xii daye of Maye payt to Snawdoun for the kingis gracis ryches for all thyngis bygane to the xiiii daye of the samyn, viii lib. viii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Criste Moffat, iiii lib. viii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Thome Schorte armorar for grathyn of ane payre of brekys and ane payre of gluffis of playt, xxii s.

Item the samyn daye at the kingis graice command gevin to ane pure man that come furtht of the Northtland to the kingis graice, xi s.

Summa lateris xxii li. v s.

Summa decem foliorum precedentium viii^{c}i li. vii s. x d.

15*r*.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the secretaris that brocht orengeis to the kingis graice x[s].

Item gevin the xiii daye of Maye to ane servand of the lady Cauldstremys that brocht tua bollis and ii desone of arros[1] to the kingis graice, xxii s.

Item gevin the xiiii daye of Maye for ane boyt that caryt certane gunys out of Sanctandrois to Leytht, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis grace command to Badman that fyndis the hayris, xliiii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to Strathirne pursyvand to pas erandys of his gracis, xliiii s.

[1] I.e. 2 bows and 2 dozen arrows.

Item gevin the samyn daye for caryin of certane bakyne brymmys[1] furtht of Loichmabene to Sanctandrois be the thesauraris command, xxxii s.

Item gevin the xvii daye of Maye at the kingis graice command to ane preistis fyrst mess, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane munkis servandis of Loundoris that [brocht][2] ros walter and appillis to the kingis graice, v s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to Sande Quhitlaw at the kingis graice command to pas erandis, xliiii s.

Item the xix daye of Maye gevin to Besse Loundy at the kingis graice command, iiii lib. viii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of Jhone Boggis[3] that brocht orengeis to the kingis graice in Sanctandrois, x s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to tua Dugemen that playt and dansyt apone the schore of Sanctandrois before the kingis graice, xliiii s.

Summa lateris xix li. vii s.

15*v*.

Item the samyn daye gevin at the kingis graice command to David Dennystoun to ryde certane erandis, xxii s.

Item gevin the xx daye of Maye to ane servand of the gud wiffis of Tullyboyle that brocht fed capones to the kingis graice, v s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to George Ormestoun gunnar at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item the samyn daye gevin at the kingis graice command to ane bruther of my lord of Ennermathis callit Bernard Stewart, xi lib.

Item gevin the samyn daye at the kingis graice command to ane pursyvand to pas to Sanctihonistoun to inhibet thame to hald ony mercattis, xxii s.

Item gevin the samyn daye to Cunyghame lutar at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item gevin the xxi daye of May for the kingis graice fraucht passand our at Kingorne to Edinburght, xxii s.

Item[4] gevin the xxii daye of Maye gevin to Jackis tapassar at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

Item the samyn daye gevin to Jhone Lowis at the kingis graice command, xxii s.

[1] Breams. [2] Omitted in MS.
[3] Yeoman in the Stable (*TA*, vii, 332; *RSS*, ii, no. 3517). [4] In margin 'Nato principe'.

Item the samyn daye gevin for the kingis gracis fraucht and for utheris botis to poste to Sanctandrois for the byrtht of the prynce, iiii lib. vii[i s].

Item gevin the xxiii daye of Maye at the kingis graice command to ane pure man that duellis in to the towne of Markinche, xx[ii s].

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of the erle Merschellis that brocht scowt eggis[1] to the king, v [s].

Item gevin the samyn daye to ane servand of Jame Wedderburnis of Dunde that brocht hammys and orengeis to the kingis [graice, xxii s].

Summa lateris xxv li. xvi s.

[1] Sea-birds' eggs.

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Papers of A DUNDEE SHIPPING DISPUTE 1600–1604

edited by W. A. McNeill

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INTRODUCTION. The papers here transcribed and surveyed have found their way, for no very obvious reason, into the archives of the Royal Burgh of Montrose. Their links are more logically with Dundee, with which John Wallwood, their author, was clearly closely connected both as burgess and trader.[1] All nine documents were written probably between 1600 and 1604 by Wallwood, apparently as clerk[2]

[1] In document No. 2 he signs 'Jhone Wallwood borges in Dondei', but is otherwise unknown. Mr Gordon Watson, Town Clerk Depute of Dundee, can find no trace of him in the 'lockit book' of Dundee; he suggests that some of the pages for Wallwood's time may have perished. The MS. Burgh and Head Court Books (1602–09) are likewise bare of reference to him. Brechin Testaments give no help in identification. *The Compt Buik of David Wedderburne, Merchant of Dundee*, ed. A. H. Millar (Scottish History Society, 1898), while it makes frequent reference to the 'John Findlaysone' of the correspondence, has no trace of John Wallwood, but both the *Compt Buik* itself and the *Dundee Shipping Lists* printed in the same volume are defective for the essential years. (The gap in the *Shipping Lists* from 7 November 1589 to 21 March 1612 may be related to an act of the Town Council, 14 January 1612 bemoaning 'the great skaith . . . sustenit in tymes bygon be want of ane sufficient register' of shipping and ordaining the Town Clerk to make one.) Wallwood was, as he says, nephew of the wife of George Wardlaw, sheriff-clerk depute of Angus, but nothing further to this relationship has emerged: the Sheriff-court Books of Forfarshire have been searched in vain. So far as has been ascertained he was not related to William Welwod, author of the *Sea Law of Scotland* (1590; reprinted Scot. Text Soc., 1933), a Tayside contemporary with perhaps a common interest in the sea.

[2] The office of 'clerk' or supercargo could have given Wallwood the authority and information he displays in these papers. His references to the 'skeipar' make it clear that he was not in command of the ship. 'A clerk is requisite in any ship of any burden whose office is to write up and make accompt of all things received or delivered in the ship, together with all ordinary and needful expenses made upon the ship and kippage: who . . . should at his entrie be sworne before the ordinary sea-judge [i.e. the

of the ship *Grace of God*.[1] They were mainly addressed to John Finlayson[2] and they form the 'documents in the case' of Wallwood against William Lindsay, but they cast a very welcome ray of light on an obscure aspect of Scottish history, the more valuable because the material required for an understanding of the day-to-day conduct of overseas trade, during a period of significant change, is virtually non-existent.

The Register of the Privy Council, the Exchequer Rolls, the surviving accounts of the Treasury, Comptrollery, Customs and Mint[3] are exceedingly important, but mainly in a general way. For a period when, by reason of the developments which were affecting all countries in western Europe and as a consequence of modifications of Scottish economic policy as a result of the Union of the Crowns, we should need for our purposes a great body of evidence, there exists in print, for an appraisal of Scottish features, notably only *The Compt Buik of David Wedderburne, Merchant of Dundee*. Both this book and its supplement the *Dundee Shipping Lists* are unfortunately of little avail for comparative and elucidatory uses, since their gaps almost completely coincide with the period of the Wallwood correspondence.[4] More-

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Dean of Guild] . . . The clerk may take of that which is delivered to him and sell thereof for the ship's need, but must satisfie the owner thereof.' (Welwod, *Abridgement of all Sea Lawes* (1613), Tit. III, pp. 14-15, Tit. XII, p. 35.)

[1] There were 15 ships of the name *Grace of God* listed as 'entered' at the port of Dundee, 12 between 1580 and 1589 and the remaining three in 1614, 1617 and 1618, but the gap in the *Shipping Lists* between 1589 and 1612 renders their information almost worthless for the purpose of identifying the vessel.

[2] Finlayson was, according to A. H. Millar (*Compt Buik*), a very prominent citizen of Dundee who was Dean of Guild on five occasions. A. J. Warden, *Burgh Laws of Dundee* (London, 1872), 222, shows a John Finlayson as Dean of Guild seven times (1593, 1596, 1603, 1606-08, 1613). The Dean of Guild had a particular jurisdiction over masters, merchants, mariners and ships even after the institution of the Court of Admiralty. Welwod (*Abridgement of all Sea Lawes*) held the Dean of Guild to be the judge-ordinary in all shipping cases; Warden (op. cit., 114) quotes an Act of the Guildry of Dundee to the effect that 'no schipp be fracht within this burgh except the Deane of Gild be present thairat and that no charter-partie be subscrywed with master nor merchant before the Deane of Gild first subscrywe'; and on 28 January 1617 three skippers were convicted and fined £5 each for breach of this act (ibid., 151). Thus John Finlayson may have had an official as well as personal and pecuniary interest in the voyage of the *Grace of God*.

[3] Of these records the *Register of the Privy Council* alone is as yet printed after 1600. (Hereafter cited as *RPC*.)

[4] Conjunction in time is to be found in the *Compt Buik*, at pp. 45, 47, 53, 101, 122, 129, 130, 161. The item on p. 45 (Memorandum upoun the 14 December 1604) alone

over they tend to show only the Dundonian end of the trade. Thus, these Wallwood papers, despite their slender bulk, may stop a gap if they do not fill a void. Their real value lies in their revelation of the other side of Scoto-Iberian trade just when, under the impact of the Union of the Crowns, it was about to alter its character in an attempt to reconcile two different, if not mutually hostile, economic systems; in affording a faint impression of the folk involved; and in indicating something of the methods and practices employed.

The usual procedure was to load in Scotland with a bulk cargo, such as coal or wheat, and also small wares,[1] belonging either to the ship's company, trading on their own account, or to stay-at-home merchants, like John Finlayson and David Wedderburne, who might be part-owners of the ship.[2] It is evident from John Wallwood's account (No. 1) that they 'cam to Engelland . . . and warrit' and that William Lindsay engaged in a private deal in coal in the Isle of Wight (No. 9). Arrived at the destination—for the *Grace of God* on this voyage, Lisbon—the ship, i.e. the cargo, would be 'sold'[3] by a 'broker' (No. 3). Thereafter, the ship would refit and await or seek out a charter from a local merchant or load up with a cargo for return to the home port—'tak in hir salt and go home' as Wallwood suggested (No. 4).

The following contract, revealing a relationship between David Wedderburne and James Kineris not dissimilar to that existing between John Wallwood and John Finlayson, may be quoted to show how some of Scotland's overseas trade was carried on: 'I James Kineris grantis me to have recavit fre Dawid Woderburn burges of Dinde the soum of ane hundreth markis in mony quhilk I sall war God willand as I do my aune and sall by to the sed David ane pert of ane schip therwith as I do to my self with hir wtred this presand wayag that I sall

deals with overseas trade, but with Rouen, not Lisbon. *The Merchant's Aviso* by I[hon] B[rowne], 1589 (ed. P. McGrath for Baker Library, Harvard School of Business Administration, 1957) (hereafter cited as *Aviso*), if not as complementary to the Wallwood papers as might have been desired, offers an interesting and useful supplement to them and in some degree a serviceable parallel to the pattern of Scottish trade as we know it.

[1] The 'portayg': the goods or traffic which the mariners might 'keep in their hand or sett it for sic fraucht as the schip gets'. See Welwod, *Sea-law of Scotland*, Tit. 6, pp. 59-60.

[2] See No. 2. For a good illustration of trade goods and methods, see 'commisione gifin to Johne Scrymgeour' by David Wedderburne (*Compt Buik*, 87).

[3] See, e.g., *Compt Buik*, 83, 101, 108.

God willand mak in Noraway and in ces I by not ane schip to do with his money as I do with the rest of my awin. At Dunde the xvij day of February 1603 yeiris. James Keneris with my hand. Mer I resavet xxii lib. x s. in gold with iiij dosoun and ane ell of Harding at v s. the eln to be warit as sed is God willand to the said Dawedis behove. James Keneris with my hand.'[1]

The *Grace of God*, during a commission of about twenty-two months, had four charters, three of them to or from Galicia, but the fourth, more unexpectedly, to Newfoundland. Unhappily, John Wallwood vouchsafes us less information about this transatlantic enterprise than about the trips to Spanish or Portuguese ports. At a guess, based on later European activities there, fishing may have been the attraction. Ships had of course fished the Newfoundland Banks before this time, but infrequently, and directly from the home port.

Judged from the rates of reward for ship and money disclosed in these accounts, the ventures of the Wallwoods and the like must have been worth while, but the risks were great and the reputation for seamanship enjoyed by Scots sailors may well have derived from the boldness with which they sailed their cockleshells across three thousand miles of ocean or carried in them the tall masts of Norway to the 'Strayts'.[2] Even as late as the mid-seventeenth century the famous report of the Protectorate commissioner, Tucker, comments on their pitiable smallness.[3] The *Grace of God* can have had a capacity of 20-25 tons only, for she took in at Santa Maria 128½ cartloads of wood.[4]

[1] *Compt Buik*, 101-2.

[2] See Nos. 4 and 8. Significant of this traffic are two entries in the *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. A petition, dated 23 May 1623, of the people of Plymouth, Dartmouth and other western English ports states that, in view of the sole patent of the Eastland Company, they will be unable to furnish themselves with masts and other gear unless they can obtain supplies 'from the Flemings, the Scots and other merchant strangers as before . . . they were accustomed' (op. cit., vi, 502-3). An order, dated 11 June 1623, confirming the privileges of the Eastland Company, states that it was not intended thereby to prevent the king's 'subjects of Scotland' from importing the same 'necessarie materialles' in their own ships from ports where the Eastland Company is used to trade (op. cit., vii, 8). In 1620 Bristol merchants complained that the owners there were 'few and poore in regard of the frequent resort of Scottish shippes hither' (T. Keith, *Commercial Relations of England and Scotland, 1603-1707*, p. 39).

[3] Report, 1656, by Thomas Tucker upon the settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Customs (*Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Records Society*, 1-48).

[4] See No. 7. A cart-load can hardly have exceeded 3 cwts; and the crew may have been five or six men. According to Welwod, *Abridgement*, Tit. VI, pp. 20-21, a ship should carry at least a skipper, clerk, cook, timberman and steersman.

Scottish mariners were liable to turn up in the strangest places abroad and in the most diverse situations. In Crete, for example, about 1610, that 'Painefull Perigrinator', William Lithgow, happened on the master of a Flemish ship, John Allan, Glasgow-born but 'now duelland at Middleborough in Zeland', and in harbour at Naples, about 1616, chained to the oar of a French naval galley, George Gib of Bo'ness, once master of his own craft and lately 'Pylot to the English' in the ship of Captain Pennington cruising on the Coast of Barbary.[1] And the threat of William Lindsay to take the *Grace of God* 'to the Straytis . . . among the Torkis gaylleis' would seem perhaps to show him of the same bold breed.[2]

Scottish overseas trade southward was carried on intermittently, it would seem, with Portugal (in 1600 under the sway of the Spanish king) in the manner indicated in the Wallwood papers, but more usually with Spain directly and, of course, more extensively with France, where Scots had the privilege of treaty rights which had lately (1599) been confirmed but were not always honoured. Some understanding of the character of that commerce may be derived from a consideration of the fears and grievances of the Scots shippers which found vent during the various Anglo-Scottish negotiations between 1604 and 1615.

The likely economic consequences of the accession of James VI to the English throne were soon clear enough to those most concerned, for the Convention of Scottish Royal Burghs included among the articles put down for discussion during the Union conferences of 1604 (1) the proviso that the ancient immunities 'grantit to Scottis men by the Kingis of France be na wayis tuichit or preiudgeit be the said treaties';[3] (2) a reminder of 'the lois sustenit be Scottismen in the king of Spainis dominiouns';[4] and (3) the injunction to the Scottish delegates 'to treatt reparatioun thairoff'.[5] And the Convention was sufficiently aware and apprehensive of trends of current English economic policy, already provoking French retaliation, to seek, at least in respect of France, a mitigation of it and a continuation of France's

[1] William Lithgow, *Rare adventures and painefull perigrinations* (Glasgow, 1906), 83, 353. [2] See No. 4.
[3] *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland, 1597-1614*, ed. J. D. Marwick (Edinburgh, 1870) (hereafter cited as *RCRB*), 189-90.
[4] Ibid., 191. [5] Ibid., 217, 225, 243; cf. *RPC*, vii, 113, 472-3.

most favoured nation treatment of Scottish ships and merchants.[1]

That misgivings in respect of the future of Scottish trade were not confined to France is shown by the concern of the Convention of Scottish Burghs, meeting on 11 July 1607 and consequently on 5 July 1609, when it had under consideration the 'preiudice done to the Estait of the burrowes be ane Inglisman in Leisbone in Portuigall . . . exacting of certane dewteis of Scottish schipis trafficquand [there] under the pretence of ane Consullado'. For remedy the burghs decreed, on the advice of knowledgeable Leith skippers and shippers, the appointment of William Crawford, a Scotsman resident there, 'to be their Counsalado' to do all things that may 'tend to the weill of the natioun'.[2] The authors of *The Scottish Staple at Veere*, commenting on this appointment and that of Sir James Cunningham as Consulado in Spain, believe that conditions of trade cannot have been so extensive as to make such appointments necessary.[3]

Again, when preliminaries to the promulgation of a new English navigation law allowed opportunity for an expression of Scottish opinion, it served merely to voice (fruitlessly as it turned out) a strong objection to the intended project on the grounds that such a new law would end in the 'decay and wrack of our [Scottish] shipping insaemickle as the best ships of Scotland are continually employed in the service of Frenchmen, not only within the dominions of France but also within the bounds of Spain, Italy and Barbary, where their trade lies, whilk is ane chief cause of the increase of the number of the Scots ships and of their maintenance'. Should the trade arrangement die, half of the Scottish vessels would 'serve for our privat trade and negotiation'.[4]

It is impossible to estimate, even roughly, the extent of the kind of venture and charter activities on which John Wallwood and his associates were engaged. Of the port Entry Books,[5] preserved in the

[1] *RCRB*, 333-4, 336-8, 404-5, 416-17. [2] Ibid., 242-3, No. 35; 279-80, No. 26.
[3] J. Davidson and A. Gray, *Scottish Staple at Veere* (1909), 106.
[4] See R. Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, i, 454-5.
[5] 'Entry Books' should have been kept at every port for the purpose of exacting 'shore silver' and, after 1597, the 'new inuart custumes' (cf. Warden, *Burgh Laws of Dundee*, 52, and above, p. 56, n. 2). *RPC*, vii, 177, gives the rate as 3s. 4d. per ship, though Dumbarton, under the authority of a grant of 10 September 1600, might charge for a ship of more than 50 tons 13s. 4d., for a barque above 20 tons 6s. 8d., and for a crear of over 5 tons 3s. 4d.—two-thirds from the cargo and one-third from the ship (*RPC*, vii, 431; vi, 85-6, 373-5, 572-4).

Scottish Record Office, there survive for the early seventeenth century those of Edinburgh (1510-1628) and of Leith (1621-23); there may remain, still undisclosed in burgh archives, others, like the *Dundee Shipping Lists* to which reference has already been made, but it is most unlikely. From such we might have deduced the frequency of ships returning from the Peninsula and so the degree of opportunity open to them to participate in the kind of traffic undertaken by the *Grace of God*. The blank in the *Dundee Shipping Lists* between 1589 and 1612 is most exasperating. One single reference before 1589[1] does not suggest a close or strong link between Tay and Tagus, and in the two years 1621-23 no more than two arrivals can be accepted with certainty as 'out of Spayne', although it is just possible that seven outward from 'Calleis' and one from St Martins might have to be added. One came from Aveiro in Portugal.[2]

The text of the *Compt Buik* goes some little way to repair at least the pattern of the omissions from the *Shipping Lists*. A consideration of approximately 40 trading ventures pursued by David Wedderburne shows that in nine,[3] between 16 September 1591 and 8 September 1619, he despatched in Scottish vessels a diversity of merchandise to be traded in Spain 'to his proffit and the fre money gottin thairfor' to be lent 'to a suir hand' or 'to wair it' to his better advantage, but 'if it be not barterit or sauld to proffit raythe to bring it hame'.[4] And

[1] *Compt Buik*, 216 (22 August 1588).

[2] According to the *Dundee Shipping Lists* from 1580 until 1589, out of a total of 162 ships 'entered' the distribution is as follows:

Port of Origin	*Total*	*Port of Origin*	*Total*
Bordeaux	18	Norway	53
Campvere	1	Queinsbrig	1
Dieppe	2	Rochelle	9
Danzic	22	St Martins	2
England	3	Spain	1
Flanders	10	Stockholm	1
'The Isles'	20	Stralsound	1
London	1	Werlindhous	1
Lupkey	2	Undesignated	14

[3] *Compt Buik*, 16 September 1591 (p. 165), 24 January 1596 (p. 71), 3 October 1597 (p. 87), 22 March 1598 (p. 112), 4 April 1599 (p. 114), 22 March 1608 (pp. 104, 113), 5 May 1614 (pp. 83, 84), 8 September 1619 (p. 182).

[4] *Compt Buik*, 112, 22 March 1598: 'Imbarkit in the . . . *Robert* of Dundie quhairof William Chiesle is master under God with James Neilsone clerk of hir [12 bolls, 6 pecks of wheat] quhilk the said James pleis Godwilling sell in Spane to my proffit . . .'; ibid., 114, 4 April 1599: 'I have send with James Neilsone to Hispane in the *Robert* quhairof

reference was made in the burgh court on 25 May 1619 to a quantity of wax exported from Dundee to Galicia in Spain,[1] and to 'ane hundreth and ten buttis of Spanish wynes transported from Spain to this port' (i.e. Dundee) in 1620.[2]

Perhaps, on the other hand, one must not make too much of the significance of this apparent infrequency of Scottish-Iberian commerce as compared with, for example, trade to Norway (about 50 ships) or the Baltic (about 30) since a proclamation of 16 November 1599 stresses the amity existing between Spain and Scotland and the 'trafficque interteynit betwixt the subjectis of baith realmis'.[3] From the Register of the Privy Council we catch occasional glimpses of the traffic. On 4 March 1600 the Council had under consideration the complaint of the merchant-owners of the *Williame* of Anstruther, homeward-bound from 'Portuigall' with a cargo of salt;[4] on 11 April 1605 Ninian McMorran, one of the leading merchants of the time, secured the 'lowsing of arrestment layed upone ane schip in the Kingis service', on a punitive expedition to the Western Isles, since 'be ane chartour pairtie past betuix him and sum Fleming merchandis he was bund to mak voyage to Spayne under payne of tuentie crounes for euerie day thay sould be stayed in default of the schip efter the tuentie day of Apryle'.[5] The significance of these two items as sidelights on the employments of the *Grace of God* should be apparent; and the success of Ninian McMorran an indication of governmental interest in that aspect of the economy. They give also some support for the views expressed in the royal proclamation of November 1599 which on other grounds might be rejected. The intricate pattern of

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William Chiesle is maister' wheat and cloth. This was an ill-starred voyage, it would appear, for A. Maxwell, *History of Old Dundee* (Edinburgh, 1884), 205, records the following postscript: March 20, 1600. In presence of Bailie Lyoun, the owner and mariners of the ship called the *Robert* testified 'quhat guids and geir were spilled and tane furth of the ship in the Spanish seas' in 1599. 'They deponit that twa ships of Zealand, as wes reportit to them, buirdit and took furth certaine wines and guids. . . . Quhairupon he ordainit the towns testimonial to be directit under the seal of cause.' The story of the *Robert*, as outlined above, is perhaps significant, not only of the chops and chances of the trade in which David Wedderburne engaged, but also of the prevailing system.

[1] Action before the Dean of Guild of Dundee regarding the price of 'a bannock of wax weighing two ship pounds and three leish pund or 333 lb. weight in Cales [Galicia] in Spain sent in the *Tigre* of this burgh to Spain' (Warden, *Burgh Laws of Dundee*, 152).
[2] Ibid. [3] *RPC*, vi, 43. [4] Ibid., vi, 88, [5] Ibid., vii, 36.

contemporary Jacobean diplomacy designed to secure for James the English succession gave at least a political colour to every thread of it; and to distinguish the stuff of it from the propaganda is well-nigh impossible.[1]

Although Dundee was among the three or four leading ports in Scotland at the turn of the sixteenth century, the distribution of her trade, as between foreign ports, was not necessarily representative of them all. It is, for example, curious that although much Scottish Continental trade was with Dieppe, the Dundee records do not reflect this. And again it seems significant that when, as we have seen, the question of a consul in Portugal was discussed, the Convention of Royal Burghs should have exclusively sought the guidance of Leith masters and merchants, presumably because of their special knowledge and experience in Iberian trade. Excursions from Dundee to Portugal and Spain may therefore have been exceptional rather than normal.

A comparative analysis of the entries at Dundee (1617-18) and Leith (1621-23) shows some interesting features of Scottish shipping into these ports from Continental ports of origin.[2] There are in all over 60 places, involving 428 ships: 352 to Leith and 76 to Dundee. From London 18 vessels arrived at Leith. The arrivals from Norway in both ports are nearly equal: Dundee, 38; Leith, 32. Few ships were entered at Dundee from the Low Countries: six from Flanders, one from Middelburg, and, most striking of all, only one from Campvere as against forty-four inward to Leith from that Staple port, thirty-two from Middleburg, twenty-four from Rotterdam, four from Holland, two from Schiedam, two from Achausen and one each from Delft, Dort, Brabant and Ostend. On the other hand there are no entries at Leith from 'the Isles', Orkney and Shetland, and only one at Dundee, though in the pre-1589 period entries from these parts were often listed at the latter port, 20 entries out of a total of 162. One ship docked at Leith with a tun of 'trayne Oyle' from 'Gruinland'. An arrival from this quarter cannot have been an everyday occurrence, but that it did happen must add interest to certain acts of the English

[1] See Professor J. D. Mackie's surveys of Hispano-Scottish relations at this time (*SHR*, xxi, 267-82, xxiii, 241-49).

[2] These figures are based on *Compt Buik*, 282-301 (for Dundee) and Scottish Record Office, Customs Entry Books of Edinburgh and Leith (E. 71-29).

Privy Council.[1] They concern a complaint by the Muscovy Company against a patent under the Great Seal of Scotland granting to Sir James Cunningham of Glengarnock the right to fish for whales and to trade to Greenland.[2]

About the time of the Wallwood adventures and misfortunes there seems to have been an unusual activity on the part of the Royal Burghs directed to the regulation of sailing conditions with the ultimate aim of safeguarding their monopoly of trade, especially against unfree interlopers. On 5 July 1597 a Convention at Burntisland ratified an earlier Act of Convention, held at Montrose, which made it obligatory on all 'merchandis' and 'passingeris' sailing out of Scotland to have 'saillers tikkets' and on all skippers to find caution to the magistrates that they will 'reassaue na merchand nor passinger without ane speciall tikket of the deyne of gild' under 'pane of tuentie pundis conforme to ane act of parliament'.[3]

The Convention returned to a consideration of the topic on 1 July 1598, demanding evidence from the burghs of their diligence in enforcing the act.[4] In consequence of a complaint of skippers and owners against (*a*) mariners in general leaving their ships in foreign ports for higher pay in other ships and (*b*) other, not strictly specified, 'misorders', the burghs are ordered to send to the next General Convention their Commissioners, duly instructed, and Edinburgh, St Andrews, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Pittenweem, Crail, Burntisland and the two Anstruthers were to bring with them one or two

[1] *APC, 1618-19*, 70-2, 78, 204-5, 207.

[2] The printed Register of the Great Seal of Scotland does not record the grant. In pursuance of his patent Cunningham had formed a Scots and English company to provide divers ships 'this year' (i.e. 1617-18). Sir James Cunningham, a favourite of James VI, was an enterprising man in his day and 'undertaker' of the Plantation of Ulster for 2,000 acres, to which was added, for reasons perhaps not unconnected with the Muscovy Company's complaint, Carghan and Balleaghan in the same part. It has been suggested that Cunningham had little serious intention of himself pursuing the venture but planned rather to take a quick profit from the 'take-over bid' which he shrewdly calculated English entrepreneurs in this field, fearful for their interests, were bound to make. (See also S. G. E. Lythe, *The economy of Scotland, 1550-1625* (Edinburgh, 1960), 60-1). On the other hand, his appointment as Consulado at Cadiz (*The Scottish Staple at Veere*, 106) might be taken as evidence of his professional involvement in economic affairs rather than of a courtier on the make. On 1 February 1625 the Scottish Privy Council considered favourably but not exclusively a plea by an undeniably active and committed entrepreneur, Nathaniel Udward, for a royal warrant 'to fish and tread in the countrey and seas of Gronland' (*RPC*, xiii, 692).

[3] *RCRB*, 4.

[4] Ibid., 25-6.

masters. The result was forthcoming at Ayr on 6 July 1602: a thoroughgoing code of sea-laws, designed to keep masterful mariners in their places and bring a salutary uniformity into the handling of ships at sea and in port and some understanding and acceptance of the laws required to govern the code.[1] The Convention, meeting at Haddington on 7 July 1603, gave power to certain Commissioners to meet and 'wysie the sey lawis' and to ensure publication and authorisation of them by the King.[2] This considerable stirring of the waters, of which the records of Parliament, Council and Convention of Royal Burghs bear ample witness, may even have been a cause or a consequence of events retailed in the Wallwood papers which follow. However this may be, the documents do reveal, if not wholly, John Wallwood's endeavour to conform to the legal obligations demanded of a 'clerk of a ship' and to found his charges against William Lindsay on a basis of law, the administration of which in the sphere and at the level here displayed is something of a closed book.

It is a one-sided story from Wallwood's pen and the truth about Lindsay can only be guessed at. It does, however, appear that Lindsay must have had a case of sorts, for obviously he acquired in the course of events a title of regular and legal control of the ship and of the common purse when Wallwood was 'deschayrgit', for he was able to 'schew ane foll commessioune of the awnneris that he meicht sell hir'. Additional force is lent to this assumption by a perceptible shift of Wallwood's ground as between his allegations of 1602 and 1604. In letters No. 4 (June 1602) and No. 5 (November 1602) he protests that Lindsay's 'malleiseiows' and 'wrangfoll' dealings affected the 'heill awneris' as well as John Finlayson and himself, but he is not insistent on that point in No. 8 (6 June 1604) and concentrates his averments on his own and John Finlayson's monetary grievances.

This view receives some confirmation from a minute in the MS. Records of Burgh and Head Courts of Dundee,[3] dated 25 June 1604: 'The quhilk day in presens of the saidis baillies comperit Thomas Wobster baxter and actit himself as cautioner for Wm Lyndsay

[1] Ibid., 132 et seq.

[2] Ibid., 164. Not until 30 June 1608 does the Council appear to have dealt with the matter of mariners' 'hayris' and their leaving ships in foreign ports before completing their 'veageis' (*RPC*, vii, 119).

[3] The volumes of these records are not paged, so reference must be made by date.

skipper that the said Wm salbe ansuerable to John Finlasone for sik thingis as the said Johne may claime of him as the law will. . . .' Date, court, parties and particulars chime in sufficient circumstantial harmony to make it almost certain that this implied admission by William Lindsay of a qualified legal liability to John Finlayson validates at least one grievance in Wallwood's story, on which, however, the most careful exploration of the records of the Court, down to the end of 1606, sheds no further light. A reasonable deduction from the correspondence is that sometime about November 1601, when Lindsay 'band him before the noters of Lleisborne . . . to com to Dondei', Lindsay dismissed Wallwood from whatever office he had held—probably, as suggested above, as clerk of this ship; that at a date between 10 June 1602, when Wallwood wrote from 'St Awall', and 29 November 1602, when he writes from Dundee, the disconsolate and discomfited man had come back from Portugal and left the field clear to his alleged persecutor and traducer.

By December 1602 (No. 6) Wallwood had apparently got another ship, but his letter of that date bears no mention of destination or other like particular. The narrative accounts, Nos. 7 and 9, are undated but may be of about the date of No. 8 (6 June 1604), written by Wallwood from Elsinore on his way to Bergen and beyond that to Lisbon again. There perforce we must leave this sad and angry man, alone with his grief, for he has just heard that his 'tua sonis' were dead: hard tidings that made him 'mer sorray nor all the trobell and sketh' he had 'sostenit'.

★

The somewhat eccentric spelling of the documents has been retained, but modern punctuation and capitals have been added where necessary. Following the texts, a glossary, a list of places mentioned and a table of Portuguese money values have been provided.

My obligation to Mr R. A. Barrowman, formerly Town Clerk of Montrose, for his unfailing courtesy and assistance while I worked on these papers, I most gratefully acknowledge here. To Professor C. R. Boxer, Camoens Professor of Portuguese History in the University of London, and to Mr A. J. Aitken, Editor of the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, for generously given expert help in solving problems of Wallwood's idiosyncratic vocabulary and orthography, I am greatly obliged. W. A. McN.

I

Letter (? to John Finlayson), n.d., but most probably the first in the series and therefore antecedent to 14 April 1600. It contains a statement of the correspondent's profit and loss account to date.

Sir y resawit frome yowrsellf fowrtei pownd of Eingllis monnay[1] the quhilk y imployit in this maynner to wit:

Item for owr lledein of collis awcht skor and awcht pownd quhilk was to yowr payrt 21 lib. Item quhane we came bak to Dondei was bocht mell and elle and canwes that sormontit to 26 lib. 10s. quhilk is to yowr payrt 3 lib. 4s. Sua gaid I till y cam to Engelland one [*sic*] and warrit 15 lib. 15s. quhilk was in Inglis monnay 37s. 6d. Item bocht sex payr wone schankis cost 5s. the pair quhilk was for sex payr 30s.[2] Mer y resawit from yowrself ten pair schankis of dayweris colloris.

All this y brocht to Lleisborne and sawld in this maynner as efter followis: Item yowr payrt of the collis al schayrges payit came to 18 Dokats. Item sawld sex payre of yowr hois for 6 Dokats. Item sawld the tene payr of hos for 8 R the peis quhilk cameis to 8 dokats. Summa the warrein of collis and schankis comis to 32 [ducats] 2 R.

Item y bocht in Lleisborne to the schip awcht boltis canwes cost nayne frankis the bolt quhilk is 3 Dokats 6 rayalis the bolt sua awcht bolts sormontis to 28 dokatis 8 R. Mer for ane fllag 25 R ½, for ane barrell tar 30 R, for ane trei to be ane bowster and inpotein 10 R, for taykell 7 Dokatis. Summa 42 Dokatis 3 R ½. To the auchtin payrt will be 5 Dokats, 5 R.

Sua haid ye of frei silder 26 dokats 19 R[3] and this was llent to the mayrchand with 9 dokats 1 R for may awne for fayf and threttei for the hownder.

Jhone Wallit with may hand.

[1] It is clear that unless 'English money' is specified the sums of pounds and shillings mentioned are Scots.

[2] The balance of 7s. 6d. seems to vanish.

[3] At the rate obtained by Wallwood earlier on the voyage (£8 Scots—£1 stg.) the balance would come to £53 16s., at current official rates, to £67 5s.; and, if Wallwood rates this balance at 21 French crowns, then at 1591 values (*RPC*, iv, 715) the amount would be £57 14s. It would have left Finlayson with a profit on his original £40 of between 35 per cent and 67 per cent and, at worst, slightly better than the '34 for the hownder' of 'lent monnay'.

2

Letter, 14 April 1600, from Lisbon to John Finlayson, explaining the current trading position, which has necessitated a delay in remitting John Finlayson's earnings in the venture till this date.

Sir, efter may hertlei comandaceone and serweis, ye sall onderstand that we areiwit in Lleisborne the last of Mayrch all blayth and merray praisit be to God bot we hawe com to ane werray bad market quhar one we tayn owr quhayt and collis the thirid.[1] As for yowr wone schankis they are all folle of hollis yet quhane y haid med raydei yowr monnay in peistollitis and thocht to hawe send it heim bot the mayr-schand that hes frawchit hir to Newfondlland his borrowit it for fowr and threttie the howndder, all so ye sall onderstand that owr schip his frei to hir third fowr honder and feitfei Dokadis of frawcht[2] and he is to pay hayris, wetteillis and all kaynd of theing[3] belongein to the woyage, onllei we mone mak ane sowfeiseiant schip with gowd saillis, caibellis and ankers and gowd reinning taikell. Now schir the monnay that y haid preipairit for yow walld hawe com to tuentei and ane Fraynss crownis[4] newer the lless shir y howp in God that ye sall find that y sall do may dewtei and content yow quhane God sall complleit this woyage. Not to trobell ye with furder wretteing bot commeitis yow to God. Lleisborne the 14 of Ayprayill 1600. Yowr neichbour and serwand to comand Jhone Wallwood borges in Dondei.

[*Endorsed*] To the honorabell and may gowd freind Jhone Fend-llason bayllei and borges in Dondei this be dellayerit in hes hand.

3

Narrative account of the charges for victualling and maintenance of the ship from the time of her arrival at Lisbon until 6 October 1601.

This is the deborsement of the 24 Dokatis that y tok from the mayr-schand in Lleisborn to do the schip adois [1601 . . . the . . . voyag?]:[5]

[1] I.e. dropped a third of the expected selling price.
[2] I.e. the ship's 'third' of the freight is 450 ducats.
[3] Wages (hires), victuals and incidental expenses.
[4] The value of the French crown fluctuated, but here it has been equated with one ducat or two and a half francs.
[5] This line has been blotted or cancelled.

Item inpreimis for ane soldard to be conwoy 4 R
for the ankrayg at Bellein 10 R
to the prowadeoyr at Bellein 6 R
to the gayrd that comis with the schip to the towne 2 R
for may denner in the towne 1 R ½
to the gardamor for weishit 4 R
for the entray of the schip in the allfombeika 5 R
for beiskat to the schip 26 R ½
for wayne to the schip 7 R
for grein breid 10 R
for the hows of the mark 23 R
to him that is the wreter of the wod hof 3 R
for the companney frei llawch 4 R
for owr broker to go and sell the schip 3 R
for heidein of ane ponschone and girdein 5 R
for wayn and bred and other thing quhane the mayrschand cam abord 2 R ½
gif to Jhone Caymmell to get owt ower mene agene owt of the ayrmnie 2 R
for thre hownder fardeinis 4 R ½
for saybos and sallads and mallones 2 R
for ane layme pot to seith the met in ½ R
[for may expensis 20 R][1]
20 Dokats half rayl
[Summa 32 Dokats ½ R][1]
[Sua rest y awin of 29 Dokats 19 R ½ and y want may hayr. This compt fet the twentie nayne Agowst 1601][1]

Of the frawcht of Betanss quhat y hawe resawit being the 8 Gownnei 1601:
[Item y resawit first from the skeipar 8 R][1] mer from yhone deport 50 R

This is the deborsement of Beitanss monnay that y resawit at the skeperis command:
first for wayne 5 quartis
for ane sallado 2 quartis

[1] These entries have been deleted.

for wayne and breid 10 quartis
for fardeinis 1 R
for desgone quhane the company of the Mray Gallands[1] geid away 4 R
for hownder fortei fardeinis 1 R ½
for sallads ½ R
to ane boy to help owt the salt 1 R
for owr met that met the salt tua dayis 6 R
for fayf dayis expennsis metein the salt 17 R
for the peteseione to the troysadeor 2 R
for the compannay sowper beds fayf mene fayf R
for makrellis 1 R ½
in Sant Amart for the portanegalland meat thre sindray taymeis quhane we was at the wod payit 5 R

Summa 46 R ½

This is the cownt of our schip the Greis of God in Lleisborne senss the first of September being Twyssday 1601:
for ane allmowtha of wayne 9 R
for ferdeinis 1 R ½
for yhone Foster Wm Tamsone and y at sowper 4 R
to the brokers to sell the schip 7 R
for ferdeinis 2 R
for sallats and mellonness 3 R
for yhone Fosteris expenssis and otheris that hellpit to keep the schip naycht and day in Wm Lleindsayis abesenss being left allone Jhone Foster and y 35 R ½ and awcht mallmadeis

[Summa 62 R of in *del.*]

The cowntis sense the 16 day of September that the skeper com frome Awerro:
Item inpreimis for wayne 6 R
for greiing with the tember mene 2 R

[1] A Dundee boat? See *Compt Buik*, 131, 208, 225. A *Mary Gallant* is noticed in the *Compt Buik* on several occasions between 7 July 1583 and 9 September 1594: *ex* Dantzic, *ex* Bordeaux (twice) and *ex* Rochelle, but whether it is always the same ship or the one on whose entertainment John Wallwood expends about 37s. 6d. does not emerge.

for the compannayis desgone 3 R
for fagotis to borne the schip 8 R
for ferdeinis 1 R
for bred and wayne to sowper 3 R
for wayne to denner 2 R
for wayne afternone 2 R ½
for oyllei to the peik 1 R 10 m
for the compannays denners 4 R
for wayne to the sowper 1 R ½
for weinnayger and oyll dollei 2 R
for wayne 2 R
for owr compannayis desgone 3 R
for candell 1 R
for wayne 1 R ½
for the lene of ane peik cetell 3 dayis
4 R tene mallmeidis lless
for the bornein ayrein tua dayis 1 R
for wayne 2 R
for wayne to sowper 2 R
for wayne to the denner 2 R
[for ane barrell tar
for half hownder fisch
for breid
for sayll twayne
for mendein owr glessis and compassis
for naylis
for twa paypis wayne][1]

Sens the 26 of September 1601:
for wayne to the denner 1 R ½
for wayne to the sowper 1 R ½
for wayne to the denner and in mornein efternone at ewin 5 R
for ane bot to faych wod and seik ane caybell and ane tember mane 1 R
for cowffeing 4 R
for wayne that efternoone 1 R
for wayne to the sowper 1 R ½

[1] These seven entries have been deleted.

for oyll dollei to the feysch	1 R
for rossit	10 R
for ane tar barrel to borne the schip	2 R
for the compannay befor thay bront	3 R
for hayder to borne onder water	8 R
for hayder	3 R
for the compannayis denner	3 R
for wayne to the sowper	2 R
for candell	1 R
for the bornein ayrrone	2 R
for the payk kaytell tuay dayis	2 R ½
for wayne to the denner	2 R
for the broker that wento [*sic*] sell the schip	2 R
for tua dayis ane half of the payk kettell	3 R 30 m
for desspaytch of the caybellis	4 mal
for the tember manis wages	12 R ½
for bred, fardeinis and wayne to the sowper for the hell compannay	5 R
for wayne	1 R
for the Fleimis tember mans wages	15 R
mer for tua dayis wayne	5 R
for ane bot to go abord to way the candell	½ R
for wayschein of ane wayne trei	½ R
for berreing ane wayn trei to fill	1 R
for [achtein *del.*] nayne allmothis of wayne	54 R
in arrellis for the rest of it	2 R ½
for fowr hownder bred ane half	ii Dokats
for thre wayne treis	12 R
for ane sowndein lled	4 R
for down cayrreing of the breid	½ R
for the despaytch of the wayne and the schip in the hows of the portayg	6 R
for the compannay quhane thay towk in the wayne and haid gottin nene that day	2 R
for owr ballast	22 R ½
for all sortis of nayllis	6 R
for may expenssis in doing the schipis beseines aschor	6 Dokats
for ane cane of oyllei to the rosit	2 R

Summa 44 Dokatis 1 R
This cownt fet the 6 of [September *del.*] October
Jhone Wallit with may hand
Rest awand him of the monnay y gat to inplloy 2 Dokatis half.

[*Endorsed*] This is the tuay cowntis and heill war of monnay that y hawe resawit senss y came owt of Skotland to this day. y will prowe honnest the inployment thairof.

4

Letter, 10 June 1602, from 'St Awall' [Aviles] to John Finlayson, making a first and detailed complaint, voyage by voyage, against William Lindsay, master of the ship.

Sir, efter may hertllay comandaceione and serweis, this to lat yow onderstand that Willyem Llendsay hais done me mest wrangfollay and malleiseiousllaye agenis yow and the heill awneris. For first in the Ayill of Weicht he remaynneit allane dowing his awne besseines and med a cowllor that it was the schipis beseinis and thayr he towk sewin schillein sex penes of the schipis for expensis. Neixt quhane we came to Lleisborne he llot me bring the collis aschoir and wak thaim neicht and day and newer weiseit thayme till thay war dellaywerit and then he resawit the monnay and thair af the first end of the coll selder he gif the compannay so meikell for thayr frawcht of portag and had tar, quhayt and Suadein bords of his awne that sould hawe payit the compannayis foyrrein. Now sir we being frawchttit to the Newfondlland he send haim with Gorg Llogane of Lleith ane hownder pestollitis to his wayf. Thane it came that he grantit to llend ane hownder and fowrtei crownis to the mayrschand and that he begowd rakein owp ane selder quhissell that the mayrschand hid promeist him or the scheip sowld go to the sei and some dray fisch that he gif the mayrschand to wettell the schip withall. And y gif the hell monney that y sowld hawe send yow for the proffeit was gowd gif we haid gottein it quhilk was fowrttei of the hownder. Now at last we came from Newfondlland and thair becaws the schip was with [*rectius* nocht] lledein the mayrschand wald hawe gifin sewin hownder and feiftei crownis accordein to the frawcht and gif Jhone Ramsay caysseione for the llent monnay and the proffeit. Sua he haid Jhone Ramsay cayseione for the tua hownder crownis ten rayels for the crowne, thane went to llaw

for the heill frawcht and schowsseis and gat ane decreit for nayne hownder dokatis. And the mayrschandis father in llaw and the honnest mene of the towne came to Dawid Skraymgor and offerrit him ane stand of wellwos and ane schaynngei for his wayf to cawss the said Willyeme to tak awcht hownder Dokatis and he wald in no wayis stand to it and wald forwart agene for expensiss quhilk was thene within ane hownder dokatis mekell. The mene seing that he was sa wolfoll that he refosit resone they sueir that thay sowld spend twentei thowsand dokatis at the llaw or ewer he gat onnay mor, yet he gat also ane decreit and pands llayit downe for sewin hownder Dokatis. And thane he went and borrowit sowme tuay hownder dokatis frome Wilyeme Cllepone and that he gif Gemis Celloch fowrtei Dokatis and gif he send haim onnay to heis wayf he cane tell himself. Now shir to be schort he lleft Lleisborne ane [follaj *del.*] and ill [*sic*] and cam to Awerro quhar y haid med the schip cllayr and hid frawcht it sir be the gripis for tuay hownder and feiftei Dokatis and was in croys [? troys] to hawe sayllit owt with fayf mene and mayself and as thay saw him and Gemis Kinlloch com thay walld not sayill with thaim in no mayner of way. For thay seid Willyeme wald pay no wages and Gemis Killoch was ane ewill instrament betueix the compannay and the skeipe [*sic*] and awnners. Now to be schort we sayllit to Galleiseia and cam to owr port in fowr dayis and ther he resawit that frawcht. Thane we went to Sant Amart, not far of, quhar we llost owr salt and thair we lledit with temmer and came to Lleisborne and delewrit and got nayne skor Dokatis of frawcht. And of that Willyeme Cllepone towk owp ane hownder and fowrtein Dokatis tua reyalis less and fowrtei dokatis for himself to go to Awerro. For in this mentayme that he left the metter and came to sayll in the schip to Galleiseia, the mayrschand lliftit his pandis and gat his lleibartei to go quhar he walld becawis he gif in allegeium that Wm Llendsay was flled to his awne countray be resone of his absenss. And as y seid befor he towk fowrtei dokatis in his porss and went to Awerro to begin new schot new bod agene.[1] And thair he agreis withowt onnay consent of me or dewayeis for awcht hownder dokatis the quhilk he meicht hawe haid first withowt pllay. And as for the tuay hownder that Jhone Ramsay hwas cayscione y knaw he meicht hawe haid it gif he wold gowg the owit (?). Now

[1] 'To begin new shot new bod': to begin any business anew (Jamieson, *Dictionary*, s.v. 'shot').

shir in this mene tayme that he was in Awerro thair was ane mane that bad me sex hownder dokatis for the schip and wald hawe gifin sex hownder and feiftei or he haid wantit hir and y was content. Sua y came to Willyem Cllepone to akiss his counsell and he tawld me that Wm Llindsay had giffin him ane power to do with that schip quhat he thocht gowd,newerthelless y will spek with the mane and he sall hawe hir. Sua Wm Cllepon went ower to Sant Awall and the mane seing he got no anser he went and bocht ane other schip. Now Wm Llensay came bak owt of Awerro with the awcht hownder dokats and quhane he came he speirit quhat was best to be done and y sayd it was best to lled the schip with salt and to go howme to the awnneris with that that thair was to the fore. Sua he said go ye and bring the schip agrownd and calffeit hir and we will go to Sant Awall and tak in hir salt and go home. And sua y did and brocht hir aff grownd againe and fetcht ballast and bocht wettellis and saillis to the reiss and was all clleir. In this mein tayme haid he llent his monnay to Wm Cllepone becawis he was powt at for ane certane sowme that he was awin and makis ane maynner to frawcht hir to go to the Straytis quhilk was ane wayrei onelleikllei thing to go with seik ane nayket bark among the Torkis gaylleis. And indeid y wald not consent to it bot onllei to com haim with salt. Sua throw Wm Clleponis deways, quharbay the monnay maycht remayn in his hand and to do me ane deschort or despayt, went and sawlld the schip preweillei without may witein for fowr howndreth and feftei dokatis and ane gold seingnit to his wayf. Sua y remaynnit with the schip till thay deschayrgit me owt of hir. Thane y askit monnay for ane quarter of hir and thay said y behoweit to prowe it to be mayne, y seiing that y fand heir, afor thir witness, Wm Llindsay, tak owp Jhone Findllasones payrt gif he hawe sawld the schip, quharbay the honnest mane be not desawit of the payrt of the schip and y will resawe may awne payrt. And he wald do nothing nor mell with the vttornis. Befor witnes, Ye sall pay for it, sayd y. Sua to be schort he his powt me frome may wages, may part of the frawchtis, may part of the schip and howris and not onnlay hais he done this to ows bot to all the awnneris and his takein the haill monnay and bocht ane Holland schip withall and thinks to treid betueix Ayrrland and Llesborne with Wm Cllepone. And shir y ame at the lawe heir for the quarter of the schip and for the prayis y sawld hir for first. Also y persewit Wm Llendsay for may llent monnay and may payrt of the

frawchtis and may payrt of the schip. And bay the deset of Wm Cllaypone owpone ane false allayganss thay pot me in presone and thocht y sowld hawe remaynnet till y sowld hawe bein fain to hawe gifin him ane descharyrg of altheing. Bot gif y haid sik help as he haid be with owr porss and with Wm Cllepone, y sould have brocht him fast till he haid payit the last fardein. Bot y was downeg with the tua wandis and y haid no monnay bot that y gat of wages with thir honnest mene, the quhill y hawld the llaw going fordwart. And sua shir y wat quhat ye have ado agenis Wm Llendsay, for he newer [had ?][1] ane better wayaging in his llayf. God hawe yow in his keiping. Frome St Awall, the tent of Gownnei 1602. Jhone Wallit to command.

[*Endorsed*] Sir y wret yow before bot Wm Llendsay and [*blank*] Cllepone towk thaim bay the way as Andro Blak and Mechell Colburne cane schaw to yow. With Godis greis y sall breing yow the heill cowntis quhat the schip is and quhat pledgt mane his in his hand. To the honorabell and wery llowein freind Jhone Feindllasone gowd mane of Gaygei and bellei of Dondei to hand.

[*Very faintly, in another hand, a further endorsement, as follows:*] Pingunt gemmas charites spectare sororem dono tibi reddas vt duplicata mihi. [*Signed*] MR J DUNCANE.[2]

5

Letter, 29 November 1602, from Dundee to John Finlayson, elaborating letter No. 4.

Sir, efter may hertllay commandaceione and serwis, this to gif yowr messship to onderstand that y hawe bein in grayt trowbell and wexaseione with Willyeme Llendsay and Willyem Cllepowne that remenneis in Lleisborne. Newerthelles the said Willyem Llindsay band him befor the noters of Lleisborne the same tayme tell moth to com to Dondei and to gif the heill awneris ane acownt and to dellaywer the frei monnay that is to the fore, quhilk be mer noor sex hownder dokatis bay the schip, and allso to hawe cawssit pay me for

[1] Edge missing.

[2] The *Compt Buik* makes three references to a James and twenty-seven to a John Duncan. Nevertheless it might be reasonable in the context to identify this 'J Duncane' with 'Johne Duncane, maryner, brother-in-law of William Kyneres' (op. cit., 149 and n.).

yowr payrt of the schip and mayne. Bot he newer keipit ane word. Allwayis thay wald hawe gewin me may payrt and y annserit y sowld resawe notheing to mayself exseip shir that yowr payrt of the schip and all theingis war first llayit downe. Quharfor y, seing the mallesei-ous and wrangfowll deillein of may compeditors, y begane newlei agene and inbargit the schip and towk hir sayillis allane and persewit conforme to sex hownder dokatis, as sche micht abein sawld for. And y hawe scepit ane honnest mayrschand to keip it waking till y sowld breing yowr testefeicaseione that the ane awchtin payrt is yowris and thane y howp to get conforme to the heichist praysis. Allso shir gif ye com not ower y will mak ane prokatrei befor the notteris to yow that ye may persew Willyem Llendsay alss weill for me as for yowrself. And y sall set downe all the monnay that he will be awand me and yow so neir as may memorrei and cowntis will serwe. Not to trobell yowr messchip with forder wreteing, bot commitis yow schir to the Eternall God. At Dondei, this Monnone the 29 of Nower.

[*Endorsed*] To the most honorabell bayllei of Dondei Jhon Finllas-sone to hand. 1602.

6

Letter, 23 December 1602, from Dundee to John Finlayson, requesting his help in obtaining a certificate (needed either for the clearance from Dundee of John Wallwood's ship or to promote the suit that a mer-chant was keeping 'waking' for him in Lisbon).

Sir, y commend may serweis to you. Ye sall onderstand that y hawe trawillit with Willyem Donkane[1] naycht and day to hawe gottin may testafeicaseione[2] and y cane not com no speid at his hand for he sayis that it will not aweill without the townis seill. Thairfor gif y sowld

[1] William Duncan is probably the William Duncan frequently mentioned in the *Compt Buik* as burgess, bailie, provost and notary in Dundee. This man, as a bailie, figures often as one of the magistrates before whom the clerks of ships coming into the port of Dundee had to make 'entry' (op. cit., 197-201).

[2] Cf. No. 5 and Maxwell, op. cit., 205. In the context of the dates and documents, especially of letter No. 5, it is a very real possibility (*a*) that the 'testafeicasione' re-quiring the validation of the burgh seal was that needed to promote the suit that the 'honnest mayrchand' was keeping 'waking' in Lisbon (see No. 4); (*b*) that John Wallwood was about to depart for Lisbon to resume the battle; and (*c*) that the interval between December 1602 and June 1604 must have been spent there fruitlessly on the mission, if we judge by his writings in 1604.

stay owpone the scill y war ebell to tayn the schip and withowt ane testafeicaseione y cannot get away. And this y ame porpisit to do: y think to caws ane noter to wret it and to cawis fowr or fayf witnes to sowbskraywe it and tua of the bellyeis. Bot shir gif ye sei the wind remayne sowtherllei, ye sall be sa gowd as to labowr with the clark that he wald send ower with the first that comis to dellaywer the seil that we hawe it in the sowrist forme. Not to trobell yow with forder wretein bot commitis yow to the protekeseione of owr gowd God. Frome Dondei, the 23 of December 1602. Yowr serwand to command Jhone Wallat.

[*Endorsed*] To the mest honorabell Jhone Feinllasone baylleyei of Dondei this to hand. 1602.

7

Narrative account of the ship's earnings on the four trading voyages, submitted by John Wallwood to support his case against William Lindsay. Neither place of origin nor date given, but perhaps of 1604.

This the haill cownt of the Galleseia frawchttis that owr schip his med and Willyem Lendsay his to mak cownt of: Item inpreimis we was frawchttit with Hayndreik Firnandis of Awerro for 17 mayeillreis for the thowsand and we towk in 8 thowsand sua that seweintein meillreis is fowrtei tua dokatis and ane half honnestllay payit. Swmma his hell frawcht comis to 240 dokatis ten rayalis for the dokat.

Item the sekond woyag Y Jhone Wallwood frawchtit owr schip with Lloweis De Agilo, the kingis forneissir of salt, be the moyane of Dawid Skraymgor, and that to tak in as meikell salt as the schip wald ber, for ane hownder mellreis, quhilk is in dokatis tua hownder and feiftei dokatis, fre of all schayrgis, ten rayellis for the dokat, the quhilk was honnestllay payit.

Item y frawchtit owr schip out of Beitanss to tak in hir lledein in Sant Amart of wood and that be the cayrt and for ewerrei cayrt was tok in we had fowrtein rayallis and we torss in ane hownder and awcht and tuentwi careit [*sic*] ane half, quhilk extendis to ane 180 dokatis 7 R ½ honnestllay payit.

The cownt of hir Newfowndlland woyage: Hir frawcht came to sewin hondreth and feiftei dokatis of the quhilk commis to the schipis payrt fowr hownder and feiftei dokats and to the companayis hayr

is thre hownder dokats. Mer he hais gifin to the compannay of the awnners coll sellder fowr dokatis for thayr portayg, the quhill he haid of his awne and otheris menis geir that awcht to hawe payit the compannyis forrein.

8

Letter, 6 June 1604, from Elsinore to George Wardlaw, sheriff-clerk of Angus, authorising Wardlaw and John Finlayson to sue William Lindsay on John Wallwood's behalf and appending an account of William Lindsay's debt to John Wallwood.

Sir, efter may hertllay comandaceione and not forgetting yowr bedfallow, may ant, ye sall onderstand that owr anners his schipit me to go for Bergan and from thenss to Lleisborne with mastis, quhar y pray yow mest ernestllay to tak may cawss in hand agenis Willyeim Llendsay and persew him to the ottermest, for he his not onllie addettit to me bot is falss in his speitchis, as the acowntis and thir honnest men hand wret dois testafei. Quharfor y beseik yow to concor with Jhone Findllasone and persew him to the otermest that cneifrei may be kend and may onestei. And sua y pray God that men may be rewardit as thay haue delt in that meter. Shir ye remember y lleft may hell power with yow the quhilk Wm Grey was notter to it and now this with may hand y will gif may foll power to persew for may payrt of the schip, may payrt of the frawchtis, may llent monnay and may hayris and to despone and to consent and to do as gif y war present mayself. Heir is ane serteifficat that y hawe of Wm Cllepone his awne freind and honnest mene that was presand, the quhilk y send to Jhone Findllasone and yow to testafei that y newer cowld haue ane pennay of may awne. And now quhane y was in trobell in Lleisborne y cawssit Collein Hay to go to Wm Cllepone and desayrit him to tak owp Jhone Findllasonis payrt of the schip and send it hem and he refoissit it and said he wald hawe no thing to do with the metter. And Rechart Quhayt sayd he resawit ane schip from Wm Llendsay and not from me nor nether botcht nor sawld with me, bot Willyem Llendsay schew ane foll commesсione of the awnneris that he meicht sell hir. And y said thay gif him na commeseione to wayst or powt away the monnay of hir thair. For Rechirt Quhayt, Wm Cllepone and Wm Llendsay is all allay falsе. Now be the gress of God y sall com heme

mayself with dellegenss, this woyag performit, quhilk will be to may hender, allthocht y cane not mend it. Y wald beseik yow to wret berrein to me, for y haw hard that may tua sonis is ded, quhilk makis me mer sorray nor all the trobell and sketh y haue sostenit. Not ellis, bot God keip yow. From Elssoneoyr, the 6 of Gownnei. Yowr asoirit freind, Jhone Walit. 1604.

This the gowst acowntis that Willyem Lleindsay is adetit to me, the quhilk Dar not Dennay exsep he his gifin himself heill to the Dewill.

Item inpreimis for cayrein the schip to Lleisborne as the awnneris was content — 20 Dokatis
Item for may hayr that y wrocht for in Newfond[land] — 60 Dokatis
Item for may hayr to Awaleis in Galleisia — 20 Dokatis
Item for may hayr from Awerro to Betanss — 18 Dokatis
Item for may hayr from Santo Marto to Lleisborne — 12 Dokatis

Summa he will be awand me of hayrs ane 130 Dokatis

Item llayit owt for ane mayne sayll to the schip, that he cawsit me llay owt, 20 crownis of gold, and that to gif me thretei for the honder

Item for Yhone Findllasone payrt of wettelis and may part of the wetelis that he gif Brass Llopos, owr mayrschand, owp in cownt comis to ii Dokatis and the profeit conforme to 30 for the honder, allso tua payr won schankis for thretei rayalis

Summa this acownt with the proffeit sormonts to 99 Dokatis

Now may auchtin payrt and Yhone Findllasonis of the frawchtis sormontis to fowr hownder tuentei Dokatis, quhilk of the gowst port payit for the sewintein hownder Dokatis of frawcht that scho med fra the haill owttred that sche wa . . . [*page torn*] Yhone Findlassone his and mayn [?] that most be ten owt of 17 honder Dokats and sua that remaynis he most gif acownt to Yhone Findllasone, the hell anneris and me. This he most anes mak the acowntis for dewaydein of the frawcht and thairefter he his dewaydit the frawcht ye most mak him pay the llent monnay and may hayris and in ceis he gif in onnay acownt mer nor Jhone Findllasone his in his hand thy [*sic*] ar not to be credit, exsep ane cownt that Gemis Kinlloch deborsit in Awalleis quhilk is may hand wret and gif thair be onnay bodeis hand at the cownt othe[r] nor mayne, llat nocht be exsepit. This meikill for the acowntis.

[*Endorsed*] To the richt honorabell Gorg Wartlaw schirif cllark of Angows dueland in Dondei this to hand. 1604.

9

Letter, n.d., no place of origin, to person unnamed but probably to George Wardlaw, sheriff-clerk of Angus, containing a catalogue of the charges which John Wallwood will prefer against Master Lindsay.

Thir is the heidis that y haue to acowss Willyem Llendsay one befor yow that ar anner[is] and espeseiallei befor Johne Fendlaysone for he his bein his grayt onefreynd [and] mayne ewer sens we haue bein owtin Skotll[and]. The first heid is he cawsit anneris to pay sewin pownd for the hownder fesch and he sawld thaim to otheris for fowrtein pownd and he gif seithis for [Ch . . . ?]. Allso he sawld fayf schalder collis in the Ayl of Weicht with that he mone mak cownt of to the awnneris, for it wes warrit one seingall beir to the schip and dowbell beir, the quhilk dowbell beir he gif to Wm Cllepone. Allso he towk of owr coll sellder fowr dokatis and gif to the compannay for the frawcht of thair portayg, he hawein quhayt and tar and Suadein bowrdis mer nor cam to threi tone waycht. Now owr schip haid of frawcht the first Galleiseia woyage thre hownder and fowrtei Dokatis that he mest gif acownt of. Allso scho haid the next woyag in Bettans with salt tua hownder and feiftei dokatis that he mest gif ane cownt of, honnestlie payit. Allso we lleidit owr schip in Sant Amarte with tember and cayreit to Lleisborne quhar he resawit ane hownder and fowr skor dokatis, honnestllay payit. Allso he mest mak acownt of owr play sellder, for gif he haid handleit the mayter weill he haid gotin his heill desayr and now his agreit as he sayis for awcht hownder Dokatis withowt may consent. All this y will acoyis him of at may heim coming, God willin, and allso of the schip that he his sawld withowt may wottein and withowt may consent and his the haill monnay of hir and wald not llat me handell ane pennay, nother of frawcht noe schip nor may wageis, bot he his send heme tua hownder Dokatis and Gemis Kinloch hes send haim threi skoyre 8 dokatis. Allso he his ane hownder pownd scottis handllein with Dawid Hay of Leith.

[*Endorsed*] Jhone Wallit with my hand.

GLOSSARY

abein have been
acoyis accuse
adois business
agrownd (*affgrownd*), *bring* careen
allane alone
allay wholly (?)
allayganss allegation, charge
allegium affidavit
allfombeika customs house (Portuguese *alfondega*)
allmowtha measure of wine (Portuguese *almude*, capacity about 3 gallons)
ankrayg anchorage, berth
arrellis earnest-money
asoirit assured
ayrein, *bornein* burning iron, implement used on the hull of a ship
ayrmnie armoury (?)
bayllei bailie, magistrate
beiskat biscuit, hard-tack
bolt (plural *boltis*) a length or roll of cloth, canvas, etc.
borges burgess
born (*bornein*) burn (burning)
bowster fender
breid, *grein* fresh bread, as opposed to biscuit
calffeit caulked
canwes canvas
cawss cause, suit at law
cayrein carrying, taking
cayrt cart-load
caysseione caution, surety
ceis case
cetell kettle
clleir (*cllayr*) ready
cneifrei knavery
collis coals
colloris colours
compeditors competitors, rivals
conforme to (here) for a sum of
conwoy convoy, escort
cowffeing marketing (?), exchanging (?)
cowllor pretence
daywers divers
deborssment expenditure
desawit deceived, cheated
deschort hurt, injury, mischief
deset deceit
desgone breakfast (cf. Fr. *déjeuner*)
dewaydein dividing
dewayeis discussion
deways devise
dokat (*dokad*) ducat
downeg with the tua wandis beaten down with both rods, i.e. overcome with several misfortunes simultaneously (*downeg*, past participle of v. *ding*)
dueland dwelling
Eingllis English
elle ale
end balance
entray entry in port books of list of imported goods
fardeinis quartered bannocks or scones
faych fetch
fet footed (of an account), i.e. summed up, audited
feysch fish
Fleimis Flemish
flag flag
forneissir furnisher, supplier
foyrrein the amount of lading allowed to a mariner to put on board on his own account
frawcht freight

gardamor port-officer, chief inspector (= *guarda mor*)
girdein ane ponscheone putting the girds or hoops round a cask
glessis hour glasses
gowg judge
Gownnei June
gowst just
greiing agreeing, coming to terms with
gress grace
gripis, frawcht be the give a ship into the temporary possession of the merchant chartering it (see *RCRB, 1597-1614*, p. 140)
handlein dealing with, management
hawld hold, keep
hayder heather
hayris hires, seamen's pay for a voyage
heidein ane ponscheone putting the top on a cask
heidis items, particulars
hois hose
hownder (*honder*) hundred
howris ours
hows of the mark office for payment of port-dues (?)
hows of the portayg market for sale of trade-goods of crew members (?) (see *portayg*)
inbargit imposed an embargo on the ship to prevent departure
keep to maintain a watch
layme earthenware
lene loan
llach, frei free entertainment, treating to food and drink
llayit owt expended, paid, invested
lled laden, load
lledein lading, cargo
llost unloaded, discharged
makrellis mackerel
mallesceious malicious, spiteful
mallmadeis a Portuguese coin
mallones melons
maynner, makis ane pretends, means, declares an intention
mayrschand merchant
mekell great
mell (n.) meal
mell (v.) deal, treat with
mendein repairing
messchip mastership, Sir, Your honour
met (n.) butcher-meat
met (*metein*) (v.) measure, measuring
mone must
nayket defenceless, ill-found
nayles nails
nene none
notter notary
onefreynd unfriendly to, hostile to
onelleikllei unlikely, unwise
or ere, before
owttred expense, outlay
pands pledges
paypis pipes, large casks of wine
peik tar, pitch
peistollit pistolet, name of certain Spanish and other gold coins
petessione petition
pllay (*plley*) plea, action at law
portayg (*poyrtag*) portage, amount of goods which sailors are allowed to carry free of freight
potein (*inpotein*) crutch, gantry, cradle for a ship to lie in
powt put
preweillei privily, secretly
prokatrei procuratory, power of attorney

prowadeoyr port official, contractor, victualler (Portuguese *provedor* ?)
quhayt wheat
rayal (*rayl*) rial, a Portuguese coin
reinning running
reiss yards of a ship
resawit received
rest balance
rossit resin
sallads (*sallado*) salad vegetables
saybos syboes, Scots form of *cibols*, vegetables of the onion family
scepit prepared (?) (Jamieson, *Dictionary*, s. v. *schape*)
schankis hose
schaynngei chain
schayrges charges, expenses
scho she
schowsseis things (Fr. *choses*)
seing saying
seingit signet
seith seethe, boil or parboil
silder (*selder*) silver, money
silder, frei credit balance
skor score (20)
soldard soldier
sormontit amounted, came to
sowfeisseiant sufficient, well-found
sowndein lled sounding-lead, plummet
sowrist surest
speirit asked
stand suit
Suadein bowrdis Swedish boards, planks
taikell tackle, rigging and running gear of a ship
tayn tine, lose
tell moth twelvemonth, year
tember mene ships' carpenters
ten taken (Scots *tane*)
testafeicaseiene (*testeficaseione*) certificate authenticated by burgh seal; or affidavit, sworn testimony
thirid third part of profits
Torkis Turks
torss carry
trei tree = barrel
troysadeor exchanger
twayne twine
uttornis attorneys
wak watch
waking alive, continuing
wandis see *downeg*
want lack
wantit gone without
warrein (*warrit*) expending, laying out (spent)
wayst spend
weinnayger vinegar
weishit (*weissit*) visit, inspect
wellwos velvets
wetteillis victuals
witein knowledge, consent
wod howf timberyard
wone woollen

LIST OF PLACES MENTIONED

Angows Angus, Scotland
Aiverro Aveiro, Portugal
Ayill of Weicht Isle of Wight, England
Ayrrland Ireland
Bellein Belem, suburb of Lisbon, Portugal
Bergan (*Berrein*) Bergen, Norway
Betanss Betanzos, Portugal
Dondei Dundee, Scotland
Elssoneoyr Elsinore, Denmark
Engelland England

Galleisia Galicia, Spain
Gaygei Gagie, parish of Murroes, Angus
Leith Leith, Scotland
Lleisborne Lisbon, Portugal
Newfondland Newfoundland, North America
Sant Amart R. Santa Marta, in Galicia, Spain
Sant Awall Aviles, in Galicia, Spain
Skotland Scotland
Straytis Straits of Gibraltar

TABLE OF PORTUGUESE MONEY VALUES[1]

1 Milrei(s) *gold*
= 1000 Res
= $2\frac{1}{2}$ Ducats (see above, pp. 67, n. 3, 68, n. 4)
1 Ducat
= 10 Rials
= 1 English Crown
1 Rial
= 40 Res
= 6d. English
= 36.3 Meruedis (Mallmeidis?) *Spanish* (reckoned by the 16/16 factor of the *Aviso*, p. 44)
= 4 Quartels (Quartis?)
= $\frac{1}{4}$ Franc (see above, pp. 67, 68)
= $\frac{2}{5}$ Teston
= 2 Vintens
= 6d.
= $\frac{1}{5}$ Milrei(s)
= $\frac{1}{10}$ Pistollet *approximate* (*Aviso*, p. 22; *RPC*, iv, 715 [temp. 1591])

That monetary business did not always adhere to the current generally accepted scale of values is clear from the transactions of John Wallwood (see above, No. 1). The equation of £15 15s. Scots with 37s. 6d. is at the rate of £8 8s. Scots for £1 sterling, when the standard equivalence was still £10 Scots for the English £1, is witness to the good fortune or business acumen of John Wallwood, or to both. In the reckoning, 25 May 1619, 'ilk doukat' (Spanish) for 'foure pund Scottis' in the sale of a 'bannock of wax', the Scots merchant had a bad bargain, the regular rate being then £3 6s. Scots for the Spanish ducat (above, pp. 67, n. 3, 68, n. 4; Warden, op. cit., 152)

[1] Unless otherwise noted, based on *Aviso*, 21-2.

A SCOTTISH LITURGY
of the reign of James VI

edited by Professor Gordon Donaldson

★

EDINBURGH,
Printed by ANDRO HART,
ANNO 1615.

A SCOTTISH LITURGY
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★

INTRODUCTION. The two volumes of *Warrender Papers* issued by the Scottish History Society in 1931 and 1932 consisted of a selection of the papers which were primarily of significance for political history. It was the intention to follow them by a volume of papers of ecclesiastical interest, but, while this project has from time to time been revived, no one has yet been found to carry it out. Among the papers of ecclesiastical interest, there is one small group relating to Superintendent Spottiswoode[1] and another relating to the controversies of 1584, when Andrew Melville and several other presbyterians took refuge in England at the time of the 'Black Acts'.[2] But the most important single item is a draft liturgy[3] of the reign of James VI which escaped the attention of the compiler of the *Scottish Liturgies of James VI* issued by the Church Service Society in 1871 and 1901 and which was also overlooked by the present editor when he prepared *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637*.

The fact that this liturgy includes prayers for Prince Charles and for Queen Anne makes it at once apparent that it must have been composed after 1612, when Charles became heir apparent, and before

[1] Two of them printed in Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, 226-8.

[2] One of them printed in Donaldson, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637*, 24-26, and others referred to in 'Scottish Presbyterian Exiles in England' in *Recs. Scot. Church Hist. Soc.*, xiv, 69-70.

[3] Scottish Record Office, HM General Register House, Edinburgh: Warrender Papers vol. A (1) (GD 1-371-1).

1619, when Anne died. It is, however, clear from the Communion Office, which refers to the communicants 'sitting with' the minister, that this liturgy antedates the Five Articles of Perth, which were prepared by the king at the end of 1617 and accepted by the general assembly in August 1618. There is also more than a probability that this liturgy was drawn up after the Aberdeen general assembly of August 1616 appointed a committee to 'revise the Book of Common Prayers contained in the Psalm Book and to set down a common form of ordinary service to be used in all time hereafter'. The document can, therefore, with little hesitation be assigned to 1616-17.

Since the 1560s, the official service-book of the Church of Scotland had been the Book of Common Order, which was usually bound with the metrical psalms in a volume familiarly known as 'the Psalm Book', of which a great many successive editions were printed.[1] The enrichment of the liturgy had been under consideration since at least 1601, but little, if anything, was done until the Aberdeen general assembly just referred to. There was then a period of energetic work, resulting in three extant drafts, the first and third of them printed in *Scottish Liturgies of James VI* and the second of them presented below. The third draft is largely a simplified version of the English Book of Common Prayer; it was laid aside for ten years and then taken up again by Charles I as the first step in the proceedings which led ultimately to the production of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. The second draft, by contrast, still leaned heavily on the Book of Common Order and did not profess to include much innovation.

The MS. has, especially in the first two or three pages, undergone a revision by another hand,[2] and this revision would have brought it more into line with the English Prayer Book. The revision therefore points forward to the second of the liturgies printed in the Church Service Society's volumes. That liturgy belongs to 1618-19, for it was prepared after the Five Articles were approved and the printing of it was authorised in 1619 (though it was not printed).

The liturgy of 1618-19 has always been associated with the name of Bishop William Cowper of Galloway, but the document now printed bears the endorsement on its final leaf: 'B. of Galloway Cowpers form

[1] See above, p. 87, for illustration of part of title-page of 1615 edition.

[2] The passages written by this reviser are printed in italics.

of service'. This earlier version, no less than the later one, does reflect the standpoint and thought of Cowper, and in the Communion Office there are clear indications that the second version imitated the first.[1] It is also true that the reviser of the liturgy now printed, so far as his work went, was moving towards the form of service found in the later version. The amendment to the rubric concerning the reading and singing during the Communion of the people is a very striking example of this.[2] It can, in short, hardly be doubted that the 1618-19 version was based upon this draft in the Warrender Papers. It is noticeable that the title proposed for the 1616-17 draft by the reviser whose work has already been mentioned indicated that he intended to include forms for the catechising of children, the visitation of the sick, and the burial of the dead. No such services were contained in this 1616-17 draft, but they did find their place in the 1618-19 liturgy. It might therefore be a reasonable inference that the reviser transferred his efforts from the amendment of the old draft to the preparation of a completely new one.[3] G.D.

[1] See footnotes to the text now printed. Cowper's thought is reflected in his printed *Works*, which are cited in footnotes to the Church Service Society volume.

[2] Cf. *Scottish Liturgies of James VI* (1901 edn.), p. 95.

[3] It is impossible to make any deductions from handwriting, for the 1618-19 liturgy exists only in a MS. prepared in 1629.

39*v*. THE OLD LEITURGIE OR CHURCH SERVICE USED IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND EXPLAINED AND INLARGED, WHEREIN NO CHANGE IS MAID AS CONCERNING THE SUBSTANCE, ONLIE SOME PRAYERS THAT WER PROPER FOR THEIR TYMES, SUCH AS THESE WHICH WAR USED WHEN THE CHURCH WAS UNDER THE TYRANNIE OF STRANGERS, AR OMITTED, AND OTHERS MEETER FOR THIS TYME[1] PLACED IN THEIR ROWME.

The Book of Common Prayer and Administratioun of the Sacramentis, with the maner of [*confirming* del.] *catechisinge young children, the form of solempnizing mareage, the order for visitatioun of the seik, of fastinge and burial as they ar used in the Church of Scotland.*

Ane order for morninge prayer dayly throughout the yeir

Att the beginning of morning prayer the minister or reder sal read distinctly one of these sentenceis of scriptor

At quhat tym [*soever a sinner repent him of his sinne from the bottom of his heart, I will put all his wickednes out of my remembrance, sayis the Lord*[2] del.] *the wicked man turnis away from his wickednes that he has committit his transgressioun sal not be mentioned unto him.*
Enter not into judgement with thi servantis, O Lord, for in thy sight sal no man living be justified. But hid thy face from our sinnes and blot out our iniquities.
Let us lift up our heartis with our handis unto God in his heavens, confessing and forsaking our sinnis that we may find mercy with him for Jesus Christ his sonnes sake.[3]

40*r*. *Then let him say*

As at all tymis we ought humbly to acknowledge our sinnis befor God, so we shuld cheifly doe it when we meet togither for asking those things quhich ar

[1] This is reminiscent of the phrase used when the revision of the Book of Common Order was first considered at the Burntisland assembly in 1601—'uther prayers' which were 'meit for the tyme' were to be added.
[2] This was the sentence which stood first in the English Prayer Book.
[3] The following scripture references are given in the margin: Ezech. 18.27.22; Ps. 143.2; Ps. 51.9; Lam. 3.41; Pro. 28.13.

necessary bothe for our bodyis and souls, therefore let so many as be here [*present* del.] *assembled accompany me with a pure heart and humble voyce in the confessioun followinge*

A generall confessioun to be said be the qhole number, kneelinge

The ordour of common prayer for the Sabboth before noone

After that the people in some good number ar assembled, let the reader stirre them up to prayer with this exhortation

Come let us worship and fall downe before the Lord our Maker. Psal. 95.6. Let us try our waies and turne againe to the Lord, let us lift up our harts and our handis to God in the heaven. Lam. 3.40. Let us confesse our sinnes and forsaik them. Pro. 28.13. that our God may have mercie upon us for Jesus Christs saik.

Thereafter let him beginne with this short confession of sinnes

[O *del.*] Almightie God and [our *del.*] most mercifull father in Jesus Chryst [we acknowledg that we ar not worthie to come in thy holie praesence for *del.*] we have erred ad straied from thy waies lyke lost sheepe, we have followed *too much*[1] the devises and desyres of our owne harts, *we haif*[2] offended against thy holie lawes, *we haif left undone those thingis quhich we oght to haif done and we haif done those thingis quhich we oght not to haif done and ther is no good in us, but thou, O Lord, haif mercy upon us miserable offendouris.*[3] Of a long tyme hes thou spoken unto us be thy word, bot we have not discerned thy voice, we have not bene answerable to the heavenlie vocation, we have not laid up thy wordis in our harts to doe them and therefore justlie may thou be angrie with us. But, O Lord, as of thy aboundant goodnes thou offers yet againe to gather us under the shadow of thy wings so we beseeke the, good Lord, to have mercie upon us miserable sinners. Spair thou us, O God, for we confesse our sinnes and forsaiks them, restore thou us for it repents us that ever we offended thee. Caus thy face to shyne upon us that we may be saved. Turne our harts, O Lord, unto thee, that this day may be the beginning of a new lyfe unto us, and we may

[1] Interlined. [2] Substituted for 'and hes'. [3] Marginal insertion.

live hereafter more godlie, righteouslie and soberlie to the glorie of thy name, in Jesus Chryst. Amen.

For the first Sabboth of the Moneth

After this generall confession of sinnes let the reader read distinctlie and with reverence the 84 psalme, which is a psalme for the Sabboth. The psalme being red, let him proclame it to be sung at two several tymes. *The maner how he shall proclame the psalme is on the other page.*[1] And after that the first part theirof is sung, let him proceede with this prayer.

40*v*. Looke downe O Lord in mercie upon us thy people, who ar here willinglie assembled before thee in thy house, waiting for thy loving kyndnes in the middes of thy temple. Thou hes called us this day to worship thee. Good Lord, who provyded a sacrifice for Abraham on the mountane, give unto us thy servants a sacrifice also that we may offer it unto thee. The sacrifices of God ar a contrit spirit and thou despisest not a broken hart. Lord, tak away the hard and stonie hart from us. Give us a contrit spirit and work in us that godlie sorow for sinne which causes repentance to salvation, not to be repented.[2] Let our soules be greeved in thy sight for these sinnes wherewith we have greeved thy Spirit. And be thou mercifull to us to forgive our iniquities that they stand not marked in the light of thy countenance to breed us terror in the day of our visitation. O Lord heare us and answer us in mercie, send everie one of us home to our houses with this joyfull testimonie of thy Spirit, Goe your waie, your sinnes ar forgiven yow. So shall we rejoce in thy saving health and praise thee our God for ever, through Jesus Chryst. Amen.

After this prayer, let the reader proclame to be sung the second part of the 84 psalme. *Let the reader proclame the psalme in this manner: Sing unto the Lord a new song, let his praise be heard in the congregation of saints. Psal.* 149.1. *Praise God by singing the* 84 *psalme at the beginning. This is to be*

[1] Marginal insertion.

[2] The following scripture references are given in the margin: Psal. 110; Psal. 48.9; Genes.; Psal. 51; Cor.; Eph. 4.

observed everie tyme he proclames a psalme.[1] The psalme being ended, let him read this prayer for the king his majestie, the queene and prince.

A praier for the King

O God be mercifull to thy servant our soveraine King James. Send him help from thy sanctuarie in all his necessities. Mak him glade with the joy of thy countenance that his glorie may be great in thy salvation, and we thy people may live under him a quyet and peaceable lyfe in all godlines and honestie, through Jesus Chryst. Amen.

A praier for the Queene

O Lord be mercifull to our gracious Queene Anne, illuminat her mynd more and more with thy heavenlie light, inflame her hart with thy holie love. Graunt her mony good and happie daies to be a comfort to his majestie and a mother in Israel, for Jesus Chrysts saik. Amen.

A praier for the Prince

O God by whom the thrones of kings ar established in themselves and their children, graunt thy blessing to the young and hopefull Prince Charles, give him a wyse and understanding hart that in thy good tyme he may know how to go in and out before thy people. Above all give him an upright hart to walk before thee as did David, Ezechiah and Josiah. Blesse [41*r*.] him, good Lord, with heavenlie blessings from above, with blessings of the breist and of the wombe that we want never one of the royall seede of our king to sitt upon his throne, if it be thy good pleasure. We crave it for Jesus Chrysts saik.

After this let the reader read some plaine and short portion of holie scripture, if tyme serve, and then let him proceede with this praier, which concludes the service before the incomming of the minister.

A short praier wherein the people are taught to pray for themselves and their pastor.

Send downe thy Spirit, O Lord, into our harts. Sanctifie our harts that we may sanctifie and keepe holie this Sabboth unto thee and so by it

[1] Marginal insertion.

may be prepared for that great and aeternall Sabboth wherein we shall rest with thee for ever in heaven, alwaie blessing thee and blessed of thee. And give thou, good Lord, grace to thy servants who shall speak this day to us in thy name, that they may come with the aboundance of the blessing of thy gospel and thy word may be powerfull in their mouthes to bring fordward that great work of our salvation, which thou hes begun in us and which we beseech thee to perfyt to the glorie of thy name and our comfort in Chryst, to whom with thee and thy holie Spirit be all praise and honor and glorie for ever. Amen.

When the pastor commeth to the pulpit, having first praemitted ane short exhortation for stirring up of the people to devotion, he beginneth with one of these or the lyke generall confession of sinnes.

O eternal God and our most mercifull father in Jesus Chryst, we acknowledge here before thy divine majestie that we ar miserable sinners, conceaved and borne in sin etc. and so furth as is conteined in the Psalme Booke pag. 74.
Or this: Truth it is, O Lord, that we ar unworthie to come into thy godlie praesence by reason of our monifold sinnes etc. pag. 78.
Or this: [Eternall and everlasting God *del.*] which followes.

Ony of those may the pastor use according to his owne discretion, or ane other as God shall please to move his hart to whom he hes geven the grace of prayer. Onlie let this be remembred that a constant form of confession is more easilie imprinted in the peoples hart, whereas dailie change of prayer, howsoever it may move for a tyme, yet doth it soone evanish and is forgotten of them who heard it.

41*v*. A confession of sinnes before Sermone

We are not worthie O Lord to appeare in thy praesence, for thou art the holie one of Israel, a God that loves not wickednes, neither shall ony evill dwell with thee. Thyne eye is so pure that it can not behold iniquitie bot alace we ar uncleane, conceaved and borne in sinne, which yet in a great part remaines in us. O Lord we can not stand

before the light of our owne conscience, it convinces us of the workis of darknes and we know that thou art greater nor the conscience if thou enter in judgment with us, thou wilt mekle more find us giltie in thy sight. Bot, O Lord, mercie is with thee that thou may be feared. Thy mercie is above all thyne owne workis and mekle more above our sinfull deedes. And it is thy praise that thou takkes away iniquitie and passes by the transgression of thy people. O Lord, shew this great mercie of thyne upon us, for we hyde not our sinnes as Adam did, neither doe we concele the iniquitie of our bosome, we confesse them, we forsaik them, we abhorre them. It repents us, O Lord, that ever we offended the. O Thou that art the praeserver of men have mercie upon us. O Lambe of God that takes the sinnes of the world tak away our iniquities from us. Releve our soules of the heavie burden of sin that lyes upon them. And O Lord in tyme to come keepe us from the deceat and tyrannie of sin. Let not iniquitie any more have dominion over us. Possesse thou our soules by the Spirit of grace. Dwell in us, ring in us, as our God and our King, subdew thou all our cogitations and affections and bring thou all that is in us captive to thy love and obedience, for through thy grace we may say it is the unfeined desyre of our soules that we wer altogether quyt of this cursed sinne and nothing wer in us bot that which is thyne. Lord, work thou it for Jesus Chrysts saik, to whom with the and the holie Spirit be praise, honor and glorie for ever. Amen.

After this or the lyke confession maid by the pastor, let the reader proclame some part of a psalme, convenient for the Sabboth.
The psalme being ended, let this or the lyke prayer be used immediatlie before the preaching.

A praier for Godis praesence to blesse his word and to mak it by grace operative to the salvation of them that heares it.

42*r*. [*blank*]

42*v*. After the sermone or aftir reading of the word where there is not a preacher that can conceave prayer and thanksgiving let this notable thanksgeving serving for all tymes be used.

Honour and praise be geven to The, O Lord God Almightie, most deere father of heaven, for all thy mercies and loving kyndnes etc. as is conteined in the end of the Psalme booke pag. 101.

Then let be sung the first two verses of the 106 psalme, contening a thanksgeving and prayer or some part of ane other psalme for the Sabboth.
Which being done let the morning service be concluded with this blessing.

[*blank*]

The Ordour of Common Prayer for the Sabboth afternoone.

The exhortation praemitted before noone being now againe repeated, let the reader proceede with this prayer.

O Lord we are here againe assembled in thyne house to seeke thy face, our eyes ar toward thee, as the eies of servants ar toward their maisters, and we wait still upon thee, that thou may have mercie upon us, for thy favour is better nor lyfe, yea one day in thy courts is better nor a thousand els where, therefore doe we love the habitation of thyne house and the place where thy honour dwelleth, and thy name is called upon. Our soules thristeth for the, O God, even for thy righteousness and salvation. Hyde not therefore thy face from us, neither cast away thy servants in displeasure be reason of our sinnes, bot for thy Chrysts saik cast our sinnes out of thy sight and caus thy favorable face to shyne upon us that we may be saved. Let the [43*r*.] meditation of our hart, the wordis of our mouth and lifting up of our handis be unto thee ane acceptable evening sacrifice, O Lord God our redemer, and blesse thou thy people that the preaching of thy word among us may be the powar of God to our salvation, let thy light illuminat our mynds, let thy lyfe quicken our dead and sensles harts, work thou holines in all our affections that we may be maid conformable to thy self. Good Lord, so long as we ar here, in this miserable absence from the, guyd us continuallie with thy grace and in thy owne appointed tyme ressave us up into thy glorie, through Jesus Chryst, to whom with thee and thy holie Spirit be all praise and honour for ever. Amen.

After the prayer let there be sung a section of the 119 psalme, both before and after sermone; let it be continued everie Sabboth after noone; when it is ended let it be begun againe, according to the ancient and lovable custome of our church.
The psalme being ended, let him read, if tyme serve, before the preacher come in, the 145 psalme. The sermone being ended and a section sung of the 119 psalme, let there be rehearsed the articles of our faith.

I beleve in God the Father [*etc.*]

After the confession of faith let this short prayer be subjoyned.

O Lord we beleve with our hart that which we have confessed with our mouth, bot for Chrysts saik help thou our unbeleif. O Lord, encrease our faith and mak it fruitfull in everie manner of good work to the glorie of thy name and the assurance of our salvation in Jesus Christ. Amen.

This being done, the blessing is pronounced, and the public service of God for that day concluded.

43*v*. Ane Admonition

In all these praiers and praises it is to be observed that the dewtie of Christians assembled is to say Amen to everie one of them, in declaration not onlie of their attention bot mekle more of their affection that their harts consents to all these praiers and praises offered to God in his sanctuarie, they witnes it by this publicand reverent acclamation, Amen. That this wes a custome observed by Christians in the primitive church, yea in the apostles' owne daies, appeareth by that which St Paul hes, 1 Cor. 14. 16, where, commanding church service to be done in a language which people may understand, he subjoynes this reason from ane inconvenient if praier and praise be not maid in a language that the hearers may understand, how shall he that is in the place of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seing he knowes now what thou saies. Now, praised be God, the Lord speaks

to his people in their owne language, they heare and they understand the praiers and praises which ar maid in the church. Why then shall they omitt this Christian dewtie as to say Amen unto them? Neither is it aneugh in thair hart to think Amen or with a secret and whispering voice. The Apostle telles them that their part is to say Amen. As in the singing of psalmes both hart and mouth concurres (Psal. 9.1) in a comlie harmonie, so suld they by that public declaration, saying Amen both with hart and mouth, testifie that they have their part in all the praiers and praises which ar sent up to God and that they allow and subscryve unto the same.

The Second Sabboth of the moneth, before noone

Let the reader begin with the exhortation sett downe for the first day and thereafter proceede with the generall confession of sin praescryved before.
Thereafter let him read the 92 psalme, which being ended proclame a part of that same psalme to be sung or some other pertaining to the Sabboth.
The psalme being ended, let him rehearse this praier for the King

A prayer for the King

O God be mercifull to thy servant, our soveraine King James. Give thy judgment, O Lord, to the King, that he may judge thy people in righteousness and thy poore with equitie, that the rightious may flourish in his daies and oppressors may be subdewed. Let the King trust in the Lord and in the mercie of the Most High. Give him a long lyfe and let his yeares be as mony ages, that he may stand a King of mony blessings to thy people, through Jesus Chryst. Amen.

This praier and the former for the King ar to be repeated by course, so that twyse in the moneth both of them may be used on the Sabboth.

44*v*. The praiers for the Queene and Prince ar to be continued as they ar sett doune before.

The Second Sabboth of the moneth after noone

The ordour praescryved for the afternoone service of

the first Sabboth is in all things to be observed, that by continual use the psalmes and praiers may become familiar to the people and imprinted in their memories, except that in place of the confession of faith the ten commandis ar to be repeated, with the prayer following in the last Sabboth.

The Thrid Sabboth of the moneth before noone

Let the same ordour be observed, which is sett downe for the first. Onlie let him after the generall first confession of sinnes read the 95 psalme. After it is read let it be sung at severall tymes, which being done proceede in the rest of the service as before is sett doune.

The Thrid Sabboth of the moneth after noone

The service is conforme to that which wes praescryved for the afternoone of the first Sabboth. Here againe the sermone and thanksgeving ended, before the psalme which wold be alwaie some section of the 119 psalme let the confession of faith be distinctlie repeated and the prayer praescryved before subjoyned.

The last Sabboth of the moneth before noone

After the exhortation and generall confession of sins praemitted for the first day, let the reader read the 145 psalme and after let it be sung at severall tymes, then proceede in the rest of the service.

The last Sabboth of the moneth after noone

No change is to be maid except that after the sermone and prayer the ten commandis ar to be repeated according to the ancient custome of our church and then this prayer subjoyned:

Lord have mercie upon us, and wryt all thy lawes in our harts that they may be inclyned to doe them.

It is to be observed that the confession of faith and repetition of the law wold be maid by course on the Sabboth so that everie one of them may be used twise in the moneth.

44*r*. A thanksgeving for the King his delyverance, together with a prayer for his majestie to be used the fyfth daies of August and November.

O God who art the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, we thy people blesses thee this day for the mony delyverances which thou hes geven to thyne anointed. Thou hes rescued thy servant from the hurtfull sworde, and from the snair of the enemie, therefore the King rejoces in thy strenth, yea he greatlie rejoces in thy salvation. The archers greeved him, they shott against him and hated him, bot his bowe abode strong and the handis of his armes wer strenthned by the mightie God of Jacob; they shott at the upright in secret, they commoned together to lay snaires privilie, they conceaved mischeiff bot broght furth a lie, for the Lord hes returned their mischeiff upon their owne head. The Lord delyvered him out of the handis of wicked and cruell men and saved him from the contentions of his people. O Lord praepair mercie and faithfulness that they may still praeserve him. Praeserve his lyfe from the feare of the enemie, hyde him from the conspiracie of the wicked and from the rage of the workers of iniquitie. Let his soule be bound in the bundle of lyfe with the Lord, and cover thou their faces with shame that wold bring his honour to the dust. So shall we rejoce in thy salvation and praise thy name for ever, through Jesus Chryst. Amen.[1]

A Prayer for Archbishops, Bishops, pastors and all spiritual office bearers in the Church.

[*space*]

45*r*. THE ORDOUR OF BAPTISME

The children to be baptised being presented in the public assemblie by the father, assisted with godfathers, or by the godfather in absence of the father, the pastor demandis of them this question:

Doe ye present these children desyring that they may be ressaved in the fellowship of Chryst his mistical bodie which is his Church and that they may be marked with the mark of Christians which is baptisme, the seale of the covenant of grace? Is not this your desyre?

[1] There are the following scripture references in the margin: Psal 18.50; Psal. 144.10; Psal. 21.1; Gen. 49.23; Psal. 64.6.5; Psal. 7.14; Psal. 71.4; Psal. 18.43; Psal. 61.7; Psal. 74.1.2; I Sam. 25.29; Psal. 20.5.

Answer

Yea, it is.

Then shall the pastor shortlie delyver the doctrine of baptisme and thereafter demand agane at these who presents the children:

Doe ye renunce and forsaik the devill and all his workis, together with the world and wicked lustes of the flesh, and will ye not promise for your self and in name of the child whom ye present to follow the Lord and serve him in Chryst Jesus?

Answer

I forsaik them all and am resolved to fight against them according to my powar and to serve the Lord Jesus Christ all my daies. The Lord inable me with grace to performe it.

Then shall the pastor exhort them to humble themselves and to seeke grace from the Lord to accompanie this sacrament.

Prayer before Baptisme

O Lord who of thy infinite love hes maid a covenant with us in thy deere sonne, our Blessed Saviour Jesus Chryst, wherein thou hes promised to be our God and the God and father of our children, we beseik thee, good Lord, to performe this thy promise toward us. Give us thy grace that we our selves, who ar baptised in thy name, may walk before as becommes a people who hes bound up a covenant with the Holie Lord. And as to these infants we pray thee for Christs saik to ressave them into the [45*v*.] number of thy children, wash away their sinnes by the bloode of Jesus Christ, mortifie the powar of sinne unto them, sanctefie them with thy holie Spirit that they may become new creatures. And, O Lord, what now we doe in the earth according to thy ordinance ratifie thou it in heaven according to thy promise maid to us in Christ Jesus our Lord and onlie Savior. Amen.

Then the parents being readie to praesent their children the pastor shall speak to them in this manner:

Rehearse the confession of faith wherein ye will promise here before

God to bring up these children if the Lord spair their daies and wherein, God willing, I shall baptise them.

Answer

I beleve in God the Father Almightie etc.

This done the children ar praesented and baptised, according to the forme sett doune in the service booke.

A Prayer after Baptisme

O Lord, who in thy Gospel commanded to bring the infants to Thee, and pronounced that the kingdome of heaven apperteined to such as they ar, we beseik thee to ressave these infants into the communion of thy saints. We have in thy name baptised them with water, bot, O Lord, baptise thou them with the holie Spirit that so this baptisme may become to them the laver of regeneration and they, through thy grace renuncing the devil, the world and the flesh, may serve Thee all their daies in holiness of lyfe. Blesse them, O Lord, with the remission of their sinnes, defend them from the malice of the devil, arme them aganst his restles tentations, guid Thou them saiflie through all the difficulties of this life and in end bring them to lyfe everlasting, through Jesus Christ, to quhom with thee and Thy holie Spirit be all praise, honor and glorie for ever. Amen.

46*r*. THE ORDOUR TO BE OBSERVED IN TYME OF HOLIE COMMUNION

Before the incomming of the pastor, let the reader begin at this confession of sinnes with devotion and reverence.

O Lord our God, and our most mercifull father in Chryst Jesus, it becommes us at all tymes to be humbled in thy praesence, considering our sinnes, which ar mony and great. Bot, O Lord, when we see thy loving mercies renewed againe towards us, after our great unthankfulnes and manifold rebellions against Thee, what great caus have we to be ashamed of our selves. Thy light has shyned to us bot alace we have not casten away the workis of darknes, thy grace that brings salvation hes appeared to us, and thou hes taught us of a long tyme to deny all ungodlines and worldlie lustes, bot we have not yet learned to live soberlie, righteouslie and godlie as becommes thy saints. We

acknowledg, O Lord, that if thou wold deale with us after our sinnes and rewaird us according to our iniquities Thou might most justlie banesh us from Thy presence, Thou might tak us from Thy table which thou hes praepared and covered before us this day, and cast us into utter darknes, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth. Bot, O Lord, mercie is with Thee that Thou may be feared, Thy mercie is above all thyne owne workis, and mekle more above our sinfull deedes. Thou hes commanded one of us to forgive ane other seventie tymes seven tymes in the day. O Lord, sen Thou requyres such compassion in Thy creature, what is there in Thy self? Have mercie, therefore, upon us, O Lord, and according to the multitude of thy compassions putt away our iniquities. Let our soules this day be divorced from our sinnes and conjoyned in a holie communion with the Lord, that Thou may live in us and we may live in Thee and unto Thee and for ever hereafter may be with Thee, through Jesus Chryst. Amen.[1]

Ane admonitioun

[It wer expedient that *del.*] als soone as the pastor enters into the pulpitt, the deacons and such as attend [*substituted for* ar appointed to serve at] the table sal [*subst. for* suld] present the elements covered and sett them upon the samin [*subst. for* table], for besyde that be the word and prayer they ar sanctefeit and changed to the holie use whereunto God hes appointed them, the doctrine of Chryst his death will [*subst. for* shall] affect and move the people the more easilie when they see these holie signes which repraesent Chryst crucefeit unto us.

A confession of sinnes to be used by the pastor at his first entrie to the pulpitt on the day of Communion

O Lord our God and most mercifull Father in Jesus Chryst, we ar overcome this day with the multitude of thy compassions. We confesse and cry out with thy servant David, O Lord, what is man that thou art so myndfull of him, or the [46*v*.] sonne of man that thou suld so farre regaird him, and what ar we, wormes of the earth, that thou, the God of glorie, suld offer thy self unto us and call us to a commun-

[1] The following scripture references are given in the margin: Tit. 2.11; Psa. 103.10; Math. 22.

ion with thee. We ar not worthie, good Lord, of the least of thy mercies, yet is it thy good pleasure to make us this day pertakers of the greatest, for now the windowes of heaven ar opened, the table of the Lord is covered, his delicats ar praepared, the armes of his mercie ar stretched out and his loving voice calles upon us, Come to me all ye that ar wearie and laden and I will refresh you. Good Lord, as all things ar readie on thy part, so we beseik thee to praepair us, for the truth is, O Lord, if we be not changed from that which we ar in ourselves, we can not have fellowship with thee. What communion can be betwene light and darknes, Chryst and Belial? Change us, therefore, O Lord, and transforme us into thy owne similitude. Illuminat us with thy light that we walk no more in darknes. Delyver us from the servitude of Satan and sinne that we may serve the, Our God, in fredome of spirit and newnes of lyfe. Let us this day againe renew the covenant with thee which on our part we have broken so oft. Let us eat at Thy table the bread of lyfe and drink the water of lyfe that we may recover our strenth, that we may die to sin with our Lord and by the powar of his resurrection we may ryse to holines and newnes of lyfe, that so our communion with Jesus may be sealed up, confirmed and continued, till at lenth it be perfyted to the praise of thy mercie and everlasting comfort of our soules in Chryst Jesus, to whom with the and thy holie Spirit be all praise, honor and glorie for ever. Amen.

> After sermone a prayer is used to this or the lyke purpose [*subst. for* A prayer to be used or one such lyke before the pastor come out of the pulpit to go to the table.]

O Lord, as the tyme drawes neere that we suld go to thy holie table, let thy grace draw neere to our soules to sanctifie us for our holie communion with thee. Send out thy light and thy truth that they may lead us. We see thou hes covered a table for us and all things perteining to the mariage banquet ar praepared [for us *del.*] on thy part. Lord, prepair us also and mak us readie, tak our filthie garments away from us and cover us with the righteousnes of thy Chryst. Looke upon us, O Lord, thy poore servants, in mercie [for this day we compasse this table of Shiloh that is of Thy Christ, whom thou hes sent to be a Saviour unto us, as these diseased creatures lay about the waters of Siloam *del.*]. We come not here to professe that we ar without sin, bot

as miserable sinners we come to seeke the Saviour and Phisician of our soules, that we may get lyfe in him, who has none in our selves. Come downe, therefore, O Lord, and salvation under thy wings [47*r.*], O sweet Samaritan pitie us that ar deadlie wounded, powre the oile of thy grace into our soules and cure the deadlie diseases of our sinnes. Raise us up, O Lord, and revive us with that bread of lyfe Christ Jesus, who offered himself unto thee upon the crosse in a sufficient sacrifice for our sinnes and whom now thou offers to us in this sacrament as a foode for our soules, that by the strenth of his grace we may live hereafter unto thee and with thee for ever. Amen.

Before the pastor come out of the pulpit to present himself to the holie table, this or the lyke admonition wold be praemitted.

Dearlie beloved in the Lord, let us now enter in our owne harts and consider with our selves that as the benefit is great which here is offered unto us if with a lyvelie faith and penitent hart we ressave this holie sacrament (for then we spirituallie eat the flesh of Chryst and drink his bloode, then we dwell in Christ and Chryst in us, then we become one with him and he with us), so is the danger great if we ressave the same unworthilie, for then we ar giltie of the bodie and blood of Christ our Saviour, we kindle Gods wraith against us and provokes him to plague us with diverse diseases and sundrie kynds of death. And therefore in the name and authoritie of the eternal God I debarre and seclude from this table all blasphemers of God, all idolaters, murtherers, adulterers, all that bear malice or envy, all disobedient persons to their princes, pastors or parents, all theeves and deceavers of their nighbours and finallie all such as lead a lyfe directlie fighting aganst the will of God. And yet this I pronounce not to seclude ony penitent person, how greevous soever his sinnes have bene before, so that he feele in his hart a sorow for his sinnes and a resolut purpose to amend his lyfe hereafter, for in our best estait we feele in ourselves much frailtie and weaknes and we have neede dailie to fight aganst the lustes of our flesh, yet for all this we will not through unbelief dispair of Godis mercie, which now most lovinglie he renewes toward us againe, bot sen our harts through his grace ar sorowfull that ever we offended him, and desyres nothing more then to be reconciled with him and maid conformable to his holie will. We will aryse and

go to his holie table as to a singular and most comfortable medicine for all seeke and disease[d] soules.

After the admonition let this or the lyke short prayer be praemitted before the action.

O Lord who art the light of our mynd, the lyfe of our hart, the joy of our spirit and onlie strenth of our soule, schew thy self this day for Chrysts saik a mercifull God, to us poore miserable sinners. Mak this table of Shiloh, that is of thy Chryst, whom thou hes sent to be a Saviour unto us, better [47*v*.] nor these waters of Siloam to these poore creatures that lay round about. There they wer cured of bodilie diseases, bot, O Lord, heale thou the diseases of our soules: there, none wes cured bot he that first stepped downe, bot here it is all alyke, O Lord, who come first or who come last to Thy table, for thou art rich in mercie and able to fulfill the necessities of all thy saints [for the which *del.*] and therefore doe we this day wait upon thee, beseiking the to joyne thy blessing with thy owne ordinances that these elements may be unto us that which Thou hes appointed them, for Jesus Chrysts saik. Amen.

Then shall the minister give this wairning to all the communicants.

Ye that trewlie repents of your sinnes and beleves in the Lord Jesus, ye that ar in love and charitie with your nighbours and intends to live a godlie lyfe hereafter, come your way, draw neere to the holie table with faith, feare and reverence, for now the Lord calleth upon yow. Come to me all ye that ar wearie and laden and I will refresh you.

This done, the minister commes downe from the pulpit and goeth to the table, which being plenished with people and there, having shortlie declared how in the celebration of this sacrament we ar bound to follow the institution of Jesus, he shall tak in his one hand the bread and in the other the cuppe and before the breaking and distributing he shall blesse and give thanks, by this or the lyke prayer, after the example of Our Lord.

We praesent not ourselves, O Lord, to this holie table trusting in our owne worthines, bot in thy manifold mercies. We confesse with the centurion we ar not worthie that thou suld come under our rooffe, and with that woman of Canaan we acknowledg that we ar not worthie to eat of the crommes that falles from thy table, far less that thou suld sett us downe lyke thy sonnes and daughters to beginne with thee that banquet upon earth which thou hes said shal be perfyted and continued for ever in heaven. O Lord, we acknowledg that no creature can comprehend the lenth and breadth, the depth and hight of this thy most excellent love which moved thee to shew mercie where none wes deserved, to give lyfe where death had gotten the victorie, and to delyver us from that fearfull wraith under which Satan drew mankynd by the meanes of sinne from the bondage whereof neither man not angel wes able to mak us free, bot thou, O Lord, rich in mercie and infinit in goodnes, hes provyded our redemption to stand in thy onlie beloved sonne [48*r*.] who wes maid man in all things lyke us, except sin, and in his blessed bodie did beare the punishment of our transgressions. He wes offred to thee on the crosse in a sacrifice for satisfaction of thy justice and is geven to us of thy mercie a food for our soule in this sacrament. Lord blesse it that it may be unto us ane effectual exhibiting instrument of the Lord Jesus, for we come here to seeke the Phisician of our soules and to celebrat with thanksgeving the remembrance of his death and passion untill his coming againe, to declaire and witnes that by Chryst alone we have ressaved libertie and lyfe and redemption from that fearfull wraith to come, and that by Chryst alone thou acknowledges us thy children and heires, and gives us entrance to thy throne of grace. For these and all other thy inestimable mercies we thy congregation moved with thy holie Spirit randers unto thee all praise and honour and glorie and therewith all we offer unto thee the service of our soules and bodies, craving at thy mercifull handis grace to performe it in Jesus Christ. Amen.[1]

The praier being ended, the minister repeats the words of consecration: The Lord Jesus that same night he wes betraied tooke bread and after he had geven thanks he brak it (which he shall doe in lyke manner) and gave it to his disciples saying etc.

[1] Most of the language of this prayer reappears in the later draft (*Scottish Liturgies of James VI*, pp. 92-3).

Then delyvering it to these sitting with him shall say, Eat of this bread in remembrance of the bodie of Christ broken for you, and tak it as a pledge that Christ is geven you of the Father who repenting of your sinnes beleves in him.

Admonition

The pastor shall not suddenlie give the bread out of his hand, bot by a discret retention stirre up them who ar neerest him to a devout and reverent ressaving that others may learne reverence by their example, who ressave it immediatlie from the pastors hand.

The bread being delyvered, then with a short speach let him stirre up the affection of the ressavers, this or lyk it:

Lift up your harts to the Lord etc.

Thereafter he taks the cuppe and having repeated the wordes of institution as of before let him give it to the neerest communicant, these words being spoken before he suffer him to drink: Drink of this cup in remembrance of the bloode of Jesus, shed for you, and tak it for a pledge that Christ is geven you of the Father who repenting of your sinnes beleves in him.

48*v*. The cup being also delyvered, let the pastor with a short speach stirre up the affection of the people

Lift up your harts unto the Lord, lay hold by faith upon Jesus, whom God the Father, by his Spirit, offers to you in this holie sacrament that ye may draw virtue from the Lord, to quicken and conserve your soules and bodies unto eternal lyfe.

In the tyme of service while the people ar communicating let the reader read distinctlie the historie of Chrysts passion, begin at the 13 chapter of St John and so goe fordward till the people having communicat begin to ryse from the table and others come in their place. All this time of the removing of the one and incomming of the other let him sing a part of the 103 psalme and the table being neere

plenished let him conclude so mekle of the psalme as he hes sung, with Glorie to the Father etc., becaus it is a solemne day of thanksgeving and twyse holie to the Lord.[1]

A short thanksgiving after that all the tables are served[2]
What shall we randre to the, O Lord, for all thy benefits towards us? We confesse to thy glorie, we can not requyt thy loving kyndnes when we have geven to serve thy majestie all that we have, yet shall we remaine thy bound debitors in as mekle more as thy Chryst, Our Lord, is more nor we ar, whom thou gave to the death for us. Bot, O Lord, who accepted the widowes myte, becaus it came from a willing mynd, accept also the sacrifice which now we present unto thee. We desyre no thing more nor that be thy owne grace we may become thyne to serve the who of thy infinit love art become ours to save us and that in the strenth of the bread of lyfe, wherewith thou hes fed us this day, we may walk not fourtie dayes onlie, as Elijah did, bot all our daies in a holie and godlie conversation before thee. Mak us wyse, good Lord, to discerne the deceate of sinne in all tyme to come, mak us strong to resist the tyrannie of Satan. Thou knowes and we feele it that he envies our fellowship with thee, and that thou suld shew mercie upon us, which will never be shewed upon him. Good Lord, arme us with thy grace to resist him when he temptes us and if we fall, Lord, let us no[t] perish, bot put under thy mercifull hand and raise us up againe; when of weaknes we forget thee, Lord remember thou us; continue thy good Spirit with us, keepe us under his good regiment and [49*r*.] let no iniquitie have dominion over us. Leave us never to our selves, bot graciouslie perfyt this great work of our salvation which thou hes begun in us and this day hes sealed againe unto us, for which we thy redemed ones randres unto the, O most wise and faithfull creator, O loving and most sweet Saviour, O gracious and kynd comforter, holie holie, holie, Lord God Almightie, all praise, honor and glorie for ever.[3]

[1] The following passage, inserted by the reviser, seems to be intended as a substitution for the later part of this direction: 'and quhile the people ar gifing place to otheris to communicat, let the 103 psalm and the 34 psalm be sunge, so by [th]is intercourse of reading and singing thei (?) salbe kepte (?) in a holy exercise til al haif communicat.'

[2] The reviser has inserted in the margin: 'After quhilk let this thanksgiving be read' [*subst. for* made].

[3] This prayer closely resembles the post-communion prayer in *Scottish Liturgies of James VI*, pp. 95-6.

Then, as our Saviour concluded this action with a psalme, let the people praise God in the first two verses of the 106 psalme. They containe a thanksgeving and a notable prayer.
Thereafter the blessing is pronounced and the assemblie dismissed.

49*v*. THE FORME OF SOLEMNIZATION OF MARRIAGE
The persones to be mareit standing up before the pastor, he praemittes this or the lyke doctrine.

In the celebration of mariage, we have first to consider the author of it, secondlie the endis for which it wes ordained, thridlie the dewties of persons joyned in this holie band.

1. The author of marriage is the Lord; he did institut it in paradise, when man was in the state of innocencie; this is a warrand to the conscience of them who ar joyned by mariage, the band is holie becaus it is ordeined by the most holie Lord. Whatever Satan or heretical spirits say in the contrair, this saith the Lord, mariage is honorable among all and the bed undefyled. Heb. 13.4.

2. The ends for which God ordeined it ar three: first becaus the Lord wes to chose a church to himself of the posteritie of Adam, he wold have him to procreat children not after the manner of beasts by promiscual and unlawfull copulations, bot in honorable manner according to his owne ordinance; secondlie that the woman might be a helper [and comforter of *del.*] unto the man for he saw it wes not good for man to be him alone, and if this help wes needfull for Adam before the Fall, mekle more is it needfull now, when through transgression he is compassed with so mony miseries (where be the way this admonition is to be geven that the greater is their sin who joyned in mariage perverts this holie ordinance, becomming a hurt and greiff one of them to ane other whom the Lord hes conjoyned that one of them suld be a help to ane other. Bot what is so good ordeined of God which the corrupt nature of man abuses not unto evill); thridlie mariage wes ordeined for a remedie to such as hes not the gift of continencie, so beareth the apostolic canon, he that can not conteine, let him marie. This end serves after the Fall.

3. The dewties of persons joyned in mariage are either common to

both or proper [to either *del.*]. The commoun dewtie, wherein man and woman ar bound alyke, is in love one to ane other. This must not be a commoun love [*subst. for* dewtie], such as one Christian ought to ane other. Bot the husband must love his wyfe as his owne flesh, the woman suld in lyke manner love her husband as her owne flesh, for the Lord, who by creation of one maid two, for he took a ribbe out of the syde of Adam and of it formed Evah, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, doeth now againe by this conjunction of mariage mak two to becomme one, in such sort that betwene the man and woman mareit there suld be bot one hart, one will and one communion in all good, that either of them hes [50*r.*]. The proper dewtie of the husband as a head to his wyffe, he suld cair for her, rule and governe her. The proper dewtie of the woman is to be a helper to her husband in his calling and to give subjection and obedience to him in the Lord.

After this the minister proceides to enquyre if there be any impediment why these persons may not be joyned in mariage. None being alledged, he causes them joyne their handis, and either of them to mak a mutual declaratioun of their consent to other, with a mutual obligation, as is sett doune in the old leiturgie. Then pronounces he the blessing. After which the mariage song being sun[g] the pastor dimittes the people with the ordinar blessing where the mariage is maid after sermone.

THE ORDOUR OF SERVICE FOR THE SABBOTH, TO BE USED AT EXTRAORDINAR TYMES

In tyme of public fasting, there ar two notable prayers or confessions of sins, serving for all causes of humiliation, sett downe alreadie before [in] the psalme booke.

It is of thy mercie O Lord and not of our merits that it hes pleased thee to shew thy selfe etc. pag. 184.
Just and righteous art thou, O Lord God, Father Everlasting, holie is thy law etc. pag. 186.

Either of these will serve convenientlie for a generall confession of sinnes before sermone upon a day of humiliation.

If the caus of fasting be appearand and imminent trouble to the disturbance of the gospel, then let be used that praier conteined in the psalme book pag. 81 with this litle correction.

50v. A praier in tyme of trouble by warre

Eternal and everlasting God, Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, thou that shewes mercie and kepes covenant with them that love and in reverence keepe thy commandements, even when thou shewest furth thy hot displeasure and just judgment upon the obstinat and inobedient, we here prostrat ourselves before the throne of thy majestie, confessing from our harts that justlie thou hes punished us in tyme past with the tyrannie of strangers and hes plagued us with a domestic devouring sword within our owne bowells. Thou hes dashed the powars of the land one aganst ane other and more justlie yet againe may thou bring the same and more fearfull plagues upon us, for we have abused the peace which for mony yeares thou hes lent us, outward peace hes nurished in us inward sensles securitie. We have not ressaved the joyfull tydings of the gospel as it became us, yea mony among us of all estaits hes maid shamfull apostasie and defection from thy truth. The great multitude delytes themselves in ignorance and mony, alace, who appeare to reverence and embrace thy word doe not expresse, etc. as is conteined in the rest of the prayer pag. 82.

Ane other

O Lord we have justlie deserved that thou suld scourage us with the roddes of men and delyver us into the handis of our enemies, yea we see the scourge praepared for us before our eyes. Our adversaries ar encreased, there ar mony who hate us with cruel hatred, they have banded themselves together to tak our lyfe away and that which is deerer nor our lyfe they wold bereave us of the comfortable light of thy glorious evangel. They have said there is no help in God for us and hes lifted up their voice to blaspheme thy eternal truth. Bot, O Lord, thou art our buckler and our glorie, the lifter up of our headis. It maks not, O Lord, what become of us, bot [why shall *del.*] let not thyne enemie reproach thy name in us, neither let them be ashamed that put their trust in thee. Arise, therefore, O Lord, and let the rage of man turne unto thy praise. Remember not against us our former iniquities,

let thy tendre mercies speedilie prevent us, for we ar broght verie lowe. Feare is upon us on everie syde and there is no strenth in us. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glorie of thy name and delyver us, and purge away our sinnes for thy names saik. Wherefore suld the heathen say, where is their God. Mak thy self knowne among them in our sight by revenging the blood of thy servants, which they have shed. Let the sighing of thy prisoners come before thee, according to the greatnes of thy power. Preserve thou these that ar appointed to die. And rander to our nighbours sevenfold in their bosome according to the reproach wherewith they have reproached thee, O Lord. So we thy people and the sheepe of thy pasture will give thee thanks for ever, through Jesus Christ. Amen.[1]

51r. Places of holie scripture to be read publictlie at such tymes and insert here ar the 83 psalme or some lyke it. After reading let a part of the same psalmes be sung. Or let be read that notable historie of the battail betwene Abijah and Jeroboam. 2 Chro. 13.
If the caus of fasting be famine threatned by intemperat weather, then let be used that notable prayer standing registrat in the psalme book pag. 77.

O dreadfull and most mightie God, thou that from the beginning hes declared thy self a consuming fyre, etc. with this correction: these words at the 25 lyne (following the footsteppes of the blind and obstinat princes) wold be left out and againe at the 54 lyne these wordis (the whispering of sedition) wold be left out; all the rest may be reteined.

Or in tyme of stormie winds, raine, mildew, wormes consuming the fruites of the ground, use this praier.

O Lord of hostes, great is thy glorie and thy powar. Thou workes in heaven and in earth whatsoever pleases thee. Psal. 135.6. Thou hes all creatures under thy commandment to caus them serve us if we will serve thee or to lowse them aganst us to punish us, when we lowse our

[1] The following scripture references are given in the margin: Psal. 3; Psal. 25.19 Psal. 3; Psal. 25.20; Psal. 79.8; Psa. 31.13; Psal. 79.9, 10, 11, etc.

harts against thy law to offend thee. Thou opened the windows of heaven and fontaines of the deepe and drowned the first world for their transgressions. Thou hes threatned in thy law to consume the fruites of the earth with stormie winds, blasting and mildew Lev. 25.22. and that the cancerworme, locust and caterpiller suld eat them up Joel. 1. and tak them out of the mouthes of thy people. Most justlie may thou, O Lord, bring all these plagues upon us, bot for Christs saik be mercifull unto us and ressave us in thy favour. We cannot beare thy wraith in temporall things. Lord, release thyne angre, be pacefeit toward thy servants. Command thy creatures to serve the necessities of our mortal lyfe. Bot above all, Lord, save us from that wraith which is to come, whatever thou give us or tak from us as concerning the things of this lyfe. Tak never the sense of Thy love out of our soules, bot let us find thee a reconciled God with us and our merciful Father in Christ Jesus. Amen.

51v. In the tyme of famine feared be drouth use this or the lyke prayer.

We ar not worthie, O Lord, that ony of thy creatures suld serve us who hes bene so evill and unthankfull servants unto thee. Thou may justlie give us dust in steede of raine and mak the heaven above us as brasse and the earth as yron, for we have bene lyke ane unprofitable vineyaird, thou hes taken great paines upon us, bot in steed of sweet fruit we have brought out sowre grapes of all sorts of unrighteousnes. O Lord, have mercie upon us for Jesus Chrysts saik. Pardon our sinnes and be favorable unto us. All creatures waits upon thee, to ressave their meat in dew season. Psal. 104. 27. and we also among the rest acknowledges that we hold our lyfe of thee and that we have nothing of our owne which may help to mantcine it, unles it be furnished of thy gracious liberalitie. O Lord thou gives food to the beasts of the earth and to the young ravens when they cry. 146.7. Refuse not, O Lord, to satisfie thy owne people with bread, when they ar hungrie, bot praepair thou raine for the earth, Psal. 147.8. that the earth may give her encrease. Bot above all things, O Lord, let the dew of thy grace discend upon our soules that they may become like a ground, blessed of the Lord, rebounding in these fruits of righteousness which may be to the glorie of thy name and our comfort in Jesus Chryst. Amen.

In tyme of pestilence or common seiknes.

O Lord, we know thou delytes not in the death of a sinner, neither doest thou afflict the children of man willinglie. Our sinnes hes provoked the to this great wraith that thou hes drawne the sword of pestilence against us, whereby we ar consumed in thyne angre. Bot, O Lord, we beseik the in wraith to remember mercie. Turne our harts unto the and tak away thy plague from us that we may serve thee hereafter in holines and newnes of lyfe. Hear us, O Lord, and be mercifull to us, for Jesus Chrysts saik. Amen.

52*r*. A praier for the seede tyme
[*blank*]

A praier for the tyme of harvest
[*blank*]

52*v*. Ordinar prayers to be used in the church through the weeke morning and evening
[*blank*]

53*r*. Privat prayers to be used in the famelie, morning and evening
[*blank*]

53*v*. Nativitie day

O Lord, great caus hes our soules to praise thee who sent thy owne in the world conceived of the holie Ghost, borne of the Virgin Marie, so to tak on our nature that he might save us miserable sinners. Graunt, good Lord, that we through regeneriting [*subst. for* being regenerit] be maid thy children be adoption and grace and may dailie be renewed by thy holie Spirit, through the same our Lord Jesus who liveth and reigneth for evermore.

54*r*. [*blank*]

54*v*. B. of Galloway Cowpers form of service.

LISTS OF SCHOOLMASTERS
teaching LATIN, 1690

edited by Donald J. Withrington

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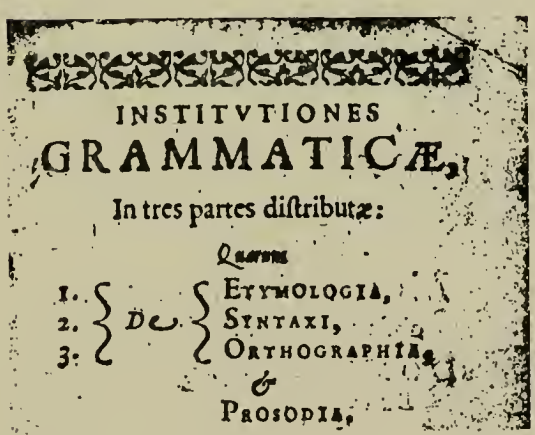
INSTITVTIONES
GRAMMATICÆ,
In tres partes distributæ:
Quarum
1. De Etymologia,
2. Syntaxi,
3. Orthographia,
& Prosodia.

LISTS OF SCHOOLMASTERS
teaching LATIN, 1690

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INTRODUCTION. On 4 July 1690 the Scottish parliament passed an act[1] which required the professors, principals and regents of the universities and all the schoolmasters teaching Latin in Scotland to swear an oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary and also to subscribe the Confession of Faith which had been approved just over a month previously by the same parliament.[2] No one was to be allowed to retain his post as a university teacher or as a grammar-school master who had not thus signified his support of the crown and of the newly settled presbyterian government of the church; and no one was to be appointed to a similar post in default of his making similar declarations. The opportunity was taken, indeed, to order a very comprehensive visitation of each university, to enquire particularly into its general administration and the management of its revenues, to review the text books currently in use and the teaching methods which were employed, as well as to investigate the moral character, professional diligence and political and religious opinions of both the university and the school teachers—the visitors were 'to report . . .

[1] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix, 163. William had instructed the Estates in a letter of 31 May 1689 to 'pass an act regulating the universities so as good order and discipline may be preserved and that pious and learned persons may be employed and provided' (ibid., ix, app. 126). It had been customary since the Reformation, in arranging for the supervision of the 'instructors of youth', to deal conjointly with both school and university teachers, and this custom was continued in the 1690 act. The category of 'schoolmasters teaching Latin' may very well have been expected to encompass most, and the most important, of the 'official' parochial and burgh schools in the country.

[2] Ibid., ix, 117 et seq.

what persons they find to be eroneous, scandalous, negligent, insufficient or disafected'.[1]

Parliament appointed a general commission of visitation which then formed sub-committees to be based in each of the university towns. On 25 July 1690 these sub-committees were ordered to inspect their respective universities and the 'haill schools' within designated areas surrounding or relatively near to the university seats. From the instructions to the St Andrews visitors (document 1 below) we can judge the range of the enquiry with which they were entrusted.[2]

The sub-committees appear each to have settled on a day of meeting[3] when they expected those masters who taught Latin schools within their bounds to attend on them in the college halls, not only to sign the oath and the Confession but also to answer any complaints which might have been made against them.[4] Before that date, however, the sheriffs, stewarts and burgh magistrates within the respective areas were to deliver to the appropriate sub-committees attested lists of all the masters of grammar schools within their burghs or stewartries or shires. A fortnight's warning of the Edinburgh committee's meeting, and also of the need to prepare lists, was given by a pursuivant in East Lothian and throughout the shires of the eastern Borders (document 2 below).

For whatever reason, there was little response to the Glasgow committee's request for these lists. At its first meeting it was minuted that the committee had 'ordanit the schoolmasters in generall, because the particular lists had not been given in within the bounds mentioned in this commission, to be called upon.'[5] On the following day, 28 August, two returns were received, one from the sheriff of Ayrshire and the other from the magistrates of Glasgow; but no others were forthcoming.[6] The few schoolmasters who had compeared according

[1] *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (Maitland Club, 1854), ii, 495.

[2] The manuscript visitation papers, from which the documents printed below are drawn, relate mainly to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and are held in the Scottish Record Office, HM General Register House, Edinburgh.

[3] 20 August was chosen for Edinburgh and St Andrews, 27 August for Glasgow. The Aberdeen sub-committee did not convene as directed between 27 August and 24 September 'in regaird of the trouble in and about Aberdein the tyme that the forsaid committee were to have met' and it was appointed to hold a meeting on 27 September.

[4] See document 2 below.

[5] *Munimenta*, ii, 497.

[6] Ibid., ii, 505-6. William Boyd in his *Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries* (1961) makes no mention of this Ayrshire list although he includes the *Munimenta* in

to command produced certificates in their favour and signed the oath and Confession.[1] No other schoolmasters arrived on the next two days, and on 30 August the Glasgow committee decided that 'considering the uncertaintie of there nixt meeting at Glasgow and the distance of the schoolmasters appoynted to appear before them whereby they cannot have satisfying accompts as were requisite of the literature and qualifications of the said schoolmasters, therefor and to the effect the seminaries may the better flourish they offert as ther opinione to the commissione that the tryall of the said schoolmasters be intirelie remitted to the respective presbytries within which they reside and that the said presbytries report to the commission as to the planting, continuing and removing as they see cause'.[2] This suggestion seems to have had the agreement of the general commission, for although the Glasgow visitation papers do not contain presbyterial reports for 1690 several for 1696 have survived.[3]

We have no record of a similar arrangement being made by the sub-committees at Aberdeen, St Andrews and Edinburgh, or being suggested to them by the general commission. There is, indeed, no information of any kind in the visitation papers which concerns schoolmasters either in Aberdeen or in the rest of the region assigned to the Aberdeen sub-committee.[4] We are fortunate, however, to have quite full data for some parts of the St Andrews and Edinburgh areas: the survival of several lists of schoolmasters teaching Latin in central and eastern parts of the country suggests that the sheriffs and magistrates there showed greater (and perhaps more keenly enforced) assiduity

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his bibliography: the sheriff's return shows that there were grammar schools in 1690 in the parishes of Ochiltree, Cumnock, Dalmellington, Straiton, Maybole, Girvan (Trochrigg), Louden (Newmilns), Kilwinning, Galston and Dundonald.

[1] *Munimenta*, ii, 498-9, 502. Only the parochial schoolmaster at Straiton attended of those on the list given in for Ayrshire. The others who compeared were the masters at Inveraray, Moffat, Dumfries, Ayr, Greenock, Lanark, Cardross, Glasgow, Penpont, Kilmarnock, Dumbarton and Paisley. [2] Ibid., ii, 504. [3] Ibid., ii, 547-50.

[4] The Aberdeen region was much the largest—the sheriffdoms of Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Nairn, Inverness, Cromarty, Ross, Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney and Shetland. The St Andrews committee was assigned the shires of Fife, Kinross, Clackmannan, Angus and Perth and the stewartry of Menteith, while the Glasgow area comprised the sheriffdoms of Lanark, Renfrew, Bute, Dumbarton, Ayr, Dumfries and Wigton and the stewartries of Annandale and Kirkcudbright. The Edinburgh committee was given the oversight of the Lothians and the shires of Stirling, Peebles, Berwick, Selkirk and Roxburgh.

in meeting the commission's requirements than did their counterparts elsewhere. These lists will be found printed below as documents 3 to 9.

The information which is thus made available allows us to gain a better appreciation than has been possible hitherto of the number and type of schools provided in a large area of the Lowlands in the period immediately preceding the 1696 Act for Settling of Schools. The passing of this act has long been assumed to indicate that Scotland was at that time grossly deficient in schooling and that the prior acts in favour of the establishment of parochial schools in 1616, 1633 and 1646 had been ineffective. Beale, in the course of his meticulous researches among the seventeenth-century records for Fife, concluded that this traditional view was wholly inappropriate in reference to that county. Far from judging the post-Restoration period as a time of inactivity or decline in educational affairs—this has been very widely presumed by presbyterian apologists of the last and of this century—Beale maintains that the years 1660-96 provided in Fife 'a story of growth and change, of a system developing in an era of civil and religious strife'.[1] A recent study of the educational provision in another Lowland county, East Lothian, supplements and supports his judgment in this matter.[2]

[1] J. M. Beale, A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife from the Reformation to 1872, p. 156 (unpublished PH.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1953).

[2] 'Schools in the Presbytery of Haddington in the seventeenth century' in *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, ix (1963), 90–111. Boyd, op. cit., is among the latest of a long succession of writers to conclude that between the Restoration and the 1696 Act the school system 'came near to complete wreckage' (p. 39). But Boyd's treatment of his sources is on occasion very unsatisfactory. He refers, for example, to the report to the Glasgow sub-committee in 1696 by the presbytery of Irvine to show the 'dismal picture' of education there just before the passing of the Act for Settling of Schools, but does not go to the original printed in the *Munimenta*. Instead he is content to restate the misleading summary supplied by Henry Grey Graham in his *Social Life in Scotland in the eighteenth century* (2nd edn., 1901, p. 421n.). In the parish of Kilmaurs in 1696 Graham and Boyd maintain that there was 'no salary, or house, or school'; but the original account of the parish reads: 'For Kilmaurs the present schoolmaster is Mr Alexander McCalpin, very fitt for that office and supposed qualified according to law, but no sallary allowed from the parish, nor house to dwell in, not yet a convenient schoolhouse' (*Munimenta*, ii, 547). The moderator of the presbytery was at pains to declare that there were no schoolmasters or only 'poor men' teaching *at present* or, *in the interim* between the departure of one and the arrival of another qualified master, in Dunlop, Kilbride, Ardrossan and Beith. Neither Graham nor Boyd acknowledges this emphasis in reporting that those parishes had no schools or were insufficiently supplied. Further, the latter both state that in Largs

The lists of schoolmasters which we now print provide further confirmation that over a very considerable area of the central and eastern Lowlands there was probably so extensive a provision for schooling, even in the remoter rural districts, that the act of 1696 was not generally needed in order to establish schools but rather, because of the widespread hardship of the 'ill years', in order to secure the livings of schoolmasters already *in situ*. Moreover, and significantly, the lists show that a very large proportion of these Lowland schools were grammar schools taught by graduate masters or by teachers who had attended university classes, and were not merely 'English' or 'Scots' schools where the curriculum extended only to reading and writing and perhaps some arithmetic.

Among the sheriffs' returns which have survived, those for the counties of East Lothian, Midlothian, Fife and Angus are especially full[1]; and from those lists, supplemented by data from other sources (mainly presbytery and kirk session records), we can construct a comprehensive picture of the provision for schooling there.

In 1690 the shire of Haddington comprised 25 parishes. We have entries for 18 of these on the sheriff's list, leaving Bolton, Garvald, Bara, Morham, Athelstaneford, Whitekirk and Spott to be accounted for. The minutes of Spott kirk session on 27 January 1689 record the death of the schoolmaster and reader, Henry Deans, and the admission to these posts of his son, Archibald Deans, 'a student at the colledge', who is thus likely to have been able to teach Latin. The first extant volume of the Whitekirk session minutes opens in 1691, at which time James Wright was precentor, schoolmaster and session clerk: he was still teaching the school there in 1717.[2] Bolton school

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there was no school, yet the *Munimenta* mentions that 'Mr John McClane is present schoolmaster, fitt for that imployment' although there was no schoolhouse and no dwellinghouse. In one instance Boyd's misreading of Graham's summary leads him to make a very curious error. It is stated by the moderator of the presbytery that the Kilbirnie master 'teaches to read and write, and precents . . . The sallary is 40 merks Scots and well payed and the casualties. . . .' Boyd *via* Graham reports, however, 'a salary of 40 merks which with presents goes to a man who teaches to read and write'.

[1] It is not possible to argue, however, that a shire for which the return notes only a few grammar schools must have maintained only that number of Latin masters. As we shall see, even in the counties for which extensive lists were given in, the sheriffs did not always provide complete returns of grammar schools there.

[2] Whitekirk K.S. Mins., 27 September 1691 to 9 October 1717. Kirk session and presbytery minutes are quoted from original MSS. in the Scottish Record Office.

was meanwhile occupied by Walter Scott, from 1679 until at least 1700[1]. And it is probable that the other four parishes also had schools in the early 1690s. Bara certainly had a schoolmaster in the years 1694–96, Garvald was supplied in late 1696 and Morham supported a school early in 1697.[2] We know that the (relatively) wealthier parish of Athelstaneford had two schoolmasters in 1676, Nathaniel and John Carmichael, and a reader and precentor in 1683 and in 1698.[3] It would be strange indeed if Garvald or Morham maintained a school and Athelstaneford did not. Thus, in 1690, 21 of East Lothian's 25 parishes certainly had schools, 19 of these being grammar schools; and it is very likely that, in the years prior to the passing of the 1696 act, 23 (if not all 25) supported schools of some kind.

If we exclude the parishes wholly within the burghs of Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith (in which there was a full complement of grammar schools, as we should expect), we find 28 parishes in Midlothian in the early 1690s. According to our lists, 17 of these had Latin schools. Colinton and Stow may be added to them since the parochial schoolmasters there were graduates or said to be grammar school teachers.[4] And eight more parishes—Ratho, Kirknewton, Glencorse (Woodhouselee), Carrington, Temple, Borthwick, Crichton and Fala—appear from the evidence of their session and the presbytery records to have had schools, although we cannot determine whether

[1] His name was entered on, and then deleted from, the sheriff's list, probably because it was discovered that he did not teach Latin. See Bolton K.S. Mins., 2 November 1679 to 15 September 1700.

[2] Bara K.S. Mins., 20 December 1696 ('twelve pund Scots given to the schoolmaster for 2 yeares fies'). Haddington Presb. Mins., 2 July, 30 July, 27 August, 17 September 1696 (Garvald); 15 April, 29 April 1697 (Morham).

[3] Haddington Presb. Mins., 25 May, 27 June 1676; 28 June 1683; 3 February 1698. Nathaniel Carmichael was session clerk and schoolmaster at least from 1655 to 1676 (ibid., 6 December 1655). The extant session minutes for Athelstaneford date only from 1770, however. It should perhaps be remarked that the writer has found evidence of the establishment of parochial schools in the 1690s in the cases of all Lothian parishes whose seventeenth-century session minutes or account-books have survived.

[4] At Colinton Mr Thomas Johnston was appointed schoolmaster, precentor and session clerk on 7 February 1669 and he was still writing the minutes in 1700. The Colinton session minutes and account books contain frequent references to the school and its master throughout the last half of the seventeenth century. Linlithgow presbytery found John Campbell, precentor at Stow, fit to teach the grammar school of Dalmeny when he was presented to them for trial on 6 September 1693; Mr Alexander Kellman had succeeded Campbell at Stow by April 1694 and was himself succeeded by Mr James Drummond in 1696 (Stow K.S. Mins., 22 September 1695; 3 May, 25 October 1696).

their schoolmasters taught Latin.[1] Of the remaining parish, Cranston, the more accessible church and other records tell us nothing.[2] In Midlothian, then, at least 19 of the 28 landward parishes had grammar schools and at least 27 of the 28 had schools of some kind.

Despite the fact that no return of schoolmasters by the sheriff of West Lothian is to be found among the commission papers, we may complete our analysis for all three of the Lothian shires from data in the records of the presbytery of Linlithgow and of the kirk sessions there. In 1690 the county contained twelve parishes and it is clear that in the years immediately preceding the 1696 act at least eleven of them maintained schoolmasters who could teach Latin.[3] The first intima-

[1] Ratho K.S. Accts., 1682-9, passim, and Ratho K.S. Mins., 4 July 1692 (when Patrick Mathie was precentor and clerk), 3 December 1695. At Kirknewton, John Morton was schoolmaster and session clerk at least from 1675 until 1694 (K.S. Mins., 16 May 1675; 21 June 1682; 9 April 1686; 4 July 1694). Alexander Ferguson was schoolmaster at Glencorse at least from 13 November 1691 until 2 March 1705 (K.S. Mins.) and the Carrington session minutes show that George Horsburgh taught the school there at least from 16 November 1691 until 7 February 1697. Temple K.S. Accts., August 1687; 10 January 1692; 7 November, 24 November 1693; 25 August 1695; 2 March, 25 May 1696. At Borthwick, the minister, heritors and heads of families appointed John Porteous to be their schoolmaster and precentor on 26 October 1690 and he was still writing the session minutes on 2 May 1714. Andrew Baillie is named as the schoolmaster at Crichton in 1692 and 1694 (Dalkeith Presb. Mins., 20 September 1692; Crichton Poll Tax return, 1694, in Scottish Record Office). And the earliest kirk session register for Fala notes John Crichton as precentor and schoolmaster between 18 July 1680 and 1 February 1685, Andrew Veitch between 31 May 1685 and 26 May 1689, and James Currie on 1 September 1689 (at which date there is an unfortunate gap in the records until 1713).

[2] There was a vacancy at Cranston parish kirk from 1689 until 1694 during which period it would seem that the parish was united, effectively if not officially, with Fala (see Poll Tax return, 1694, in Scottish Record Office).

[3] The Linlithgow presbytery minutes refer to schoolmasters in: Bo'ness—21 July 1691, 13 March 1695 (Mr John Foggo); Carriden—9 July 1690 (Mr John Davie), 9 August 1693 (Mr Alexander Marshall); Abercorn—30 March 1692 (Mr John Reid 'late schoolmaster'), 29 September 1697 (James Johnston); Dalmeny—20 August 1690 (John Tailor), 6 September 1693 (John Campbell), 17 June 1696 (John Tailor); Uphall —19 August 1696 (Mr James Stuart); Livingstone—22 August 1694 (William Wilson); Bathgate—17 June 1696 (Mr Andrew Lyall); Torphichen—9 November 1693 (James Stephen), 10 April 1695 (Mr John Lesley). The burgh-parishes of Queensferry and Linlithgow also, of course, maintained grammar schools—31 October 1694, 17 June 1696. Discharges of payment of salary in the Dundas of Dundas papers (National Library MSS. 80.2.10) show that Mr John Reid was master at Abercorn in 1690 and 1691, Mr John Harper in 1692 and until 1697; and that at Kirkliston, Mr John Buchan taught the school in 1689 and 1690, John Robertson in 1691, Mr William Provand from 1691 to 1694 and Mr Thomas Cornwall from 1694 to 1697 (see also Kirkliston K.S. Mins., 26 November 1694, 16 July 1697).

tion of a school in the remaining parish, Ecclesmachan, does not occur until 1698;[1] but since the presbytery busied itself in 1693 and 1696 in licensing schoolmasters as qualified to teach grammar schools and in expressing the hope that they would soon find employment,[2] we must suspect that Ecclesmachan also supported a Latin master prior to the 1696 act.

To sum up, then, for the Lothians: out of the total of 65 parishes under review no fewer than 49, and probably 50, had grammar schools; and 61 (if not indeed 64) maintained parochial schools of some kind.

Fife in 1690 seems to have been divided into 60 parishes. The sheriff's list, together with the list of those schoolmasters who compeared before the St Andrews sub-committee, indicates that 37 of them were supplied with schoolmasters who could teach Latin. To these we can add grammar schools in ten burgh-parishes which are not mentioned in the visitation papers: Culross, Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, Burntisland, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Pittenweem and Anstruther Wester and Easter.[3] In addition, graduate masters appear to have been employed in the 1690s in Saline, Abdie and Flisk, although only the Saline master was certainly in his appointment before 1696.[4] Thus, in all, at least 48 and possibly 50 of the Fife parishes supported grammar schools during the period 1690–6. Beale's researches also provide evidence for schools of some kind at this time in Carnock, Ballingry, Monimail, Dairsie and Forgan;[5] and the present writer can add Cameron and Dunino to their number.[6] Only for Cults, Kilmany

[1] A presbyterial visitation on 25 May 1698 found 'one [*blank*] Purdy schoolmaster and James Purdy his son precentor'.

[2] Linlithgow Presb. Mins., 9 November 1693; 16 September 1696; also 14 April 1697.

[3] See Beale, op. cit., 156-201 and app. 1.

[4] Ibid., app. 1. Mr James Robertson was dismissed from the Saline appointment on 11 December 1695. Mr Patrick Laing who taught in the Abdie school was described as 'ane old man' in 1701 and 1702 and may well have been there for many years previously. Mr George Davidson was established as the Flisk schoolmaster by 27 December 1699.

[5] Ibid., app. 1.

[6] Cameron K.S. Mins., 7 July 1695 (appointment of Thomas Ferny). An entry at 28 July 1695 reports that on 11 September 1659 'ane William Couch became schoolmaster and precenter for quich he got [? 5 lib.] a year. 3 November 1661 Couch removed from the parish and James Pakston was appointed to use the offices both of precenter and bethell for quich he got all the kirk dues untill . . . 1690. After Mr Alexander Wilson's return to the paroch Thomas Bonally was made precenter and clerk to the session.' Dunino K.S. Mins., 28 July 1672; 26 November 1682; 17 June 1683; 30 August 1685; 28 February 1686; 28 August 1687; 14 August 1692. William

and Monzie do we find a complete blank.[1] Therefore while we know that 55 of the 60 Fife parishes certainly maintained schools in the years 1690-6, as many as 57 may well have supported masters.

Angus had 54 parishes at this time and 35 of them are named in the sheriff's list. There are four burgh-parishes which also had grammar schools and whose masters apparently did not compear at St Andrews —Brechin, Montrose, Arbroath and Dundee.[2] The Menmuir kirk session minutes show that its school was taught by a graduate,[3] so that at least 40 of the 54 parishes had schools in which Latin grammar would be part of the curriculum. The paucity of records for the remaining Angus parishes in the latter part of the seventeenth century very much limits our information beyond this. But we do know that Lundie and Lintrathen had schools, though not necessarily grammar schools, in the years 1690-6.[4] In Angus, therefore, we can be sure that 42 out of 54 parishes maintained schools in 1690, 40 of them being grammar schools. It is, of course, very likely that some at least of the others (especially such parishes as Logie Pert and Maryton) also had schools at this time.

In these five counties, therefore, for which the records are relatively full, there was a very good provision for schooling in the early 1690s. Out of a grand total of 179 parishes[5] in the Lothians, Fife and Angus, at least 137 and possibly 140 supported grammar schoolmasters and at least 156 (if not 164 or more) had either Latin or 'Scots' schools. That is, nearly 90 per cent of all the parishes in these counties are known

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Russell was very probably schoolmaster and clerk from 1672 until 1697; on 6 February 1698 James Dick got the appointment which he retained until his death in April 1722.

[1] Save, that is, for the undocumented statement in Beale, op. cit., 203, n 2, that the educational history of Collessie, Creich, Cults, Flisk, Kilmany and Monzie can be traced in the records after 1692. Mungo Blyth was master at Cults by 1704 and Alexander Spence was at Kilmany in 1701 (ibid., app. 1).

[2] J. C. Jessop, *Education in Angus* (1931), pp. 163 et seq.

[3] Menmuir K.S. Mins., 11 June 1693 (admission of Mr John Crofts). See also 22 November 1689; 30 November 1690; 2 December 1691; 2 December 1692; 13 August, 27 November 1693; 4 March, 14 October, 29 November 1694; 10 March, 20 December 1696.

[4] Lundie K.S. Mins., 18 May, 5 October, 11 October, 29 November 1690. George Small taught the school there at least from 1690 until 1696. Lintrathen K.S. Mins., 13 December 1691 (James Gibb); 15 May 1692 (admission of John Gourie as schoolmaster and precentor; he was still teaching the school on 15 May 1715).

[5] Excluding still the parishes wholly within the burghs of Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith.

to have had schools of some kind; and, very remarkably, in no fewer than seven-eighths of those parishes which we know to have had schools there were to be found masters who were teaching Latin grammar. It is very unlikely that this situation would not have been matched, at least to some quite considerable extent, in the remainder of the Lowlands.

An important feature of the sheriffs' lists which should not be overlooked is that a number of small and quite remote parishes, as well as those which were both large and populous, appear there. And it would seem that the maintenance of grammar schools even in the early years of the seventeenth century was not confined to the latter. For example, the small East Lothian parish of Tyningham had already provided itself with a master before the privy council passed the 1616 act in favour of the establishment of parochial schools,[1] and when a vacancy occurred in 1617 this minute was entered in the kirk session register: 'The said day given to ane yong man out of the box, callit David Fullois, quha ofered himself to be schollmaster, 12 sh.; bot being not so weill qualifeit in litrature as the pariochin and minister desyrit he wes dimittit, being examined be the minister anent his qualification in the Latine languadge'.[2] The aspiration, if not the expectation, to have a grammar school in the parish was probably—throughout the seventeenth century—much more widespread than has been supposed. D. J. W.

[1] Tyningham K.S. Mins., 4 June, 27 June, 22 October, 25 October, 12 November 1615. [2] Ibid., 17 August 1617.

I

Att Edinburgh the twenty fyft day of Jully 1690. The instructions underwritten given by the commissioners appointed by act of parliament for visiting of universities colledges and schoolls to the severall committees of the visitors conforme to the commissione and delegation granted to them theranent of the date of thir presents. *Imprimis* That the committee enquyre and take exact tryall of the masters, professors, principalls, regents etc. if any of them be erroneous in doctrine and as to popish arminian and socinian principles which is to be searched from their dictats: or to receave informatione from other persones who have bein conversant with them or heard them. *Secundo* To enquyre and take tryall if any of the masters etc. be scandalous or guilty of immoralities in their life and conversatione. *Tertio* To try if any of the masters be negligint and to enquire how many conveniendums they keep in the day and what tyme they meet and how long they continew those meetings and how the masters attends and keeps them and what discipline they exerce upon the scholars for the immoralities and non attendance and how faithfullie that is exerced and how oft they examined ther schollars on their dictats and to take tryall what paines they take to instruct ther schollars in the principles of Christianity and what books they teach thiranent for the subject of ther sacred lessons and what caire they take of ther schollars keeping the kirk and examining them therafter. *Quarto* To enquyre as to ther sufficiencie and that ther dictats be searched and if they be suspect of insufficiencie to ask questions and examine them as the committee shall think fitt. *Quinto* To enquire and take tryall what hes being the cariage of the masters etc. since the late happie revolutione as to ther majesties government and ther coming to the croune and to enquire into ther dictats or papers emitted by them what are their principles as to the constitutione of the government by King and Parliament. *Sexto* Lykwayes to call for the foundations and laus of the universities and to considder how they are observed and to try how they have managed ther revenews and speceallie anent the money given for buying books to ther libraries and any mortificationes stents collections and vacant stipends and other moneys given one any

accompt to the said colledges and if the mortifications for the severall professiones be rightlie applyed. *Septimo* To enquyre and try the professors of divinities what subjects of divinity they teach and what books they do recomend to ther theologues and if they be remiss and cairless in causing there theologues have ther homilies and exeseses and frequently disput on poynts of divinity as is requyred. *Octavo* To enquyre at these haill masters etc. if they will subscrive the confession of faith and swear and take the oath of allegiance to ther majesties King William and Queen Mary and to subscrive the certificat and assurance ordained to be taken by ane act of parliament in July 1690 and if they will declare that they do submitt to the Church government as now established by law. *Nono* That the committee appoynt such of the masters as they shall find cause to attend the nixt general meeting of the commissione quich order shall be equivalent as if a citation should be given to them for that effect. Extracted furth of the records of the said commission by me

Burnett clericus registri

2

Upon the therttie and therttie ane dayes of July, first and second dayes of August sixteen hundred and nyntie year, I William Hoome unicorne pursevant at command of ane warrand directed furth by the comissionars for vissiting of universsities and skoolls conforme to the act of parliament maid theranent and be virtew therof past to the marcat crosses of Edinburgh and to the most patent gate of the universsitie and college therof upon a marcat day betwixt ten and twelf of the clock in the foornoone and als to the marcat cross of Haddingtoun, Dunss, Greenlay, Lauder, Gedburgh and Selkirk heid burghes of the respective shireffdomes therof and ther at each of the saids marcat crosses respective and successivlie efter the crying of thrie severall oyases [made] oppen proclamatione and publick reidding of the said act of parliament and the said warrand wherunto the samen relaited. And ther in ther maiesties names and auctoritie lawfullie summonded warned and chairged the principall, professors, regents and all other mesters of the universitie and colledge of Edinburgh and haill skoolmaisters teaching Lattein within the bounds of the said shyrs and burghes aboumentioned to compeir befor the comittie of

the saids vissitors delligat be them conforme to the act of parliament within the college hall therof at Edinburgh upon the twentie day of August instant at ten of the clock in the fornoone and satisfie the said comittie upon the poynts contained in the act of parliament conforme to the instructiones given be the saids comissionars to them. And lykwayes at the samen tymes and places and in the samen mainer, I William Hoome unicorne pursevant lawfullie summonded warned and chairged all ther maiesties leidges who have anything to object against the said principall, proffessors, regents and all others forsaids. And at the same tym and place and in that same mainer I maid intimatione to majestrats of the saids burghs royall within the saids bounds that they send in full lysts of the skoolmesters teaching Lattein within ther respective burghs royall. And als at the same tyme and place and in mainer forsaid I maid intimatione to all the shireffes of the respective shyrs aboumentioned that they also send in lysts of such skoolmesters within ther respective shyrs outwith the borrous royall quich severall lists ar to be sent be them to the clerk of the said comissione or ther deputs which is to meatt day hour and place forsaid. And this I did efter the forme and tennor of the said warrand in all poynts wherof I affixt and left at and upone each of the forsaids mercat crosses and most patent gaite of the said colledge of Edinburgh printed coppies of the said act of parliament and ane othere prented coppie of the said warrand with ane short coppie upoun the end therof subscryved with my hand respective and successivie [*sic*] each efter others before these witnesses respective viz. to the premiss done be me at the said corss of Edinburgh and the colledge gaite upon the said therttie day of July being a marcat day betwixt ten and twelf in the fornoone Archbald Buchannan and [*blank*] indwellers in Edinburgh; and to the premiss done be me upon the said marcat cross of Haddingtoun upon the said therttie ane day of July Androw Malloch wryter in Haddingtoun and the said Archbald Buchannan; and to the premiss done be me upon the said marcat cross of Dunss upon the said first day of August Patrick Cockburne messenger in Dunns and the said Archbald Buchannan; and to the premiss done be me at the said marcat corss of Grinlaw upon the said first day of August James Reidpeth indweller in Grinlaw and the said Archbald Buchannan; and to the premiss done be me at the said marcat corss of Lauder upon the said first day of August Richard Lauder talyior burges of Lauder and the said Arch-

bald Buchannan; and to the premiss done be me at the said mercat corss of Gedburgh upon the said second day of August John M^c^cubben messenger in Gedburgh and the said Archbald Buchannan; and to the premiss done be me at the said marcat cross of Selkirk upon the said second day of August David Elliott messenger in Selkirk and the said Archbald Buchannan with divers of others. And for the mor verificatione of this my executione I and the saids witnesses have subscryved thir presents with our hands as folloues

(sgd.) Jo. Maccrubine, witness
Da. Elliott, witnes
Archibald Buchannan, witnes
W. Hume, pursevant
A. Malloch, witness
Patr. Cokburn, witnes
James Reidpeth, witnes
Richard Lauder, witnes

3

A List of the principle, professors and regents of the Colledge of Edinburgh and of the Schoollmasters teaching latine within the burghs and shires underwritten. [1690 *in dorso*]

For the Colledge of Edinburgh
x[1] Mr [*blank*] Monro, principall
x Mr [*blank*] Strachan, professor of divinity
x Mr [*blank*] Douglas, professor of hebrew
x Mr David Gregorie, professor of mathematicks
x Mr [*blank*] Massie, professor of philosophie
x Mr Halbert Kennedy, professor of philosophie
x Mr Alexander Cuningham, professor of philosophie
x Mr [*blank*] Burnet, professor of philosophie
x Mr [*blank*] Drummond, humanity regent
x Mr Robert Henderson, bibliothecarius

For the Burgh of Edinburgh
William Skeen, master of the high scole

[1] It is probable that an 'x' at a name indicates that that master compeared before the committee.

x Mr Alexander Forsyth, doctor
x Mr Jon Johnstoun, doctor
x Mr Thomas Darling, doctor
x Mr Andrew Skeen, doctor
x Mr John Wisheart, master
x Jon Anderson, doctor
x Mr Robert Blair in Coledge wynd
x Mr James Watt Blackfrier wynd
x Mr Gavin Weir in Landmercat *dismissed*[1]
x Mr George Jamieson Westport *dismissed*
x Mr James Kilpatrick
x Mr Jon Martine
x Mr George Burnet Canongate schollmaster and his three doctors
Mr William Philp

For the Shyre of Edinburgh

x North Leith	x Mr Alexander Wairdrop *dismissed*
	Mr William Whyte
x South Leith	x John Gray
x	x William Bell
x Duddingstoun	x Mr William Purves
x Libertoun	x Mr Arthur Couper
x	x John Fairgreive
x	x William Borthwick
Westkirk	John Haillstons
	x Mr John Mushet *to bee cited*
	x Mr John Kilpatrick
Colington	[*blank*]
Corstorphin	x Mr William Wilson
Cramond	x Mr Thomas Forrest *dismissed*
Currie	x William Gordon
Rath	[*blank*]
S:Syd Krikliston	[*blank*]
Kirkneuton	[*blank*]
Caldercleir	[*blank*]

[1] Words printed in italics have been added by another hand. 'Dismissed' appears to signify that the master had satisfied the committee, not that he was removed from his post.

Midcalder	x Mr Alexander Hay
Westcalder	x Mr Alexander Hastie
Innerask	x Mr Walter Denistoune
	x Archibald Duncan
	x James Thomsone
Dalkeith	x Mr John Bowar
	x Mr John Crightoun
	Mr Thomas Wilsone
	Robert Patersone
Neutone	Ninian Milne
	Mr Wm. Alisone
Newbotle	Mr Archbald Grierson
Laswade	Mr James Law
	Mr Robert Trotter
Woodhouslie	[*blank*]
Pennicook	John Pow
Cockpen	David Johnstoun
Cranstoun	[*blank*]
Caringtoun	[*blank*]
Creightoun	[*blank*]
Falla	[*blank*]
Borthwick	[*blank*]
Temple	[*blank*]
Heriot	Laurence Scott
Stow	[*blank*]

For the Shyre of Haddingtoun

Oldhamstocks paroch	Ninian Dudgeon
Inneruek parich	[*blank*] Douglas
Dumbar paroch	Mr David Chrystie
Stenton paroch	Gavin Wood
Whitingham paroch	Mr Jon Rowan
Preston haugh	Mr James Miller
Tyningham paroch	Mr John Black
Hadingtoun paroch	Mr James Hunter *continued*
Boltoun paroch	Walter Scott [*deleted*]
Yester paroch	Patrick Knox
Saltoun paroch	Andrew Kirkwood

Pencaitland paroch	Mr Jon Broun
Ormstoun paroch	[*blank*] Guthrie
Humbie paroch	Mr Jon Lourie in Keith and William Cockburne in Netherkeith
Aberlady paroch	Mr William Sinclair
Dirletoun paroch	John Hepburne
Northberwick paroch	Mr Alexander Goodale
Tranent paroch	Mr Georg Hawie
Saltpreston paroch	Mr Jon Thomson

For the burgh of Stirling
Mr William Broun scholl master and
Mr George Stewart doctor

For the shyre of Stirling

Falkirk	Mr James Nicoll
Larbert	Mr John Carriders
Slamanan	Mr Robert Tenent
St Ninians	Mr John Wilson
Raplochburn	John Thomson x *dismissed*
Kilearne	John Moir
Drymen	Mr Walter Mcadam
Buchlyvie	William Mairshell
Kilsyth	John Scott

Shyre of Roxburgh

x Kelso	Mr George Adie *ordered to testify*
Hawick	Mr Jon Purdoune
Melross	Mr Thomas Byres
Lilliesleaf	Andrew Davidson
Morebotle	Robert Wawgh

For the burgh of Jedburgh
Mr William Hamiltone *continued*

For the burgh of Peebles
Mr John McMillane *dismist*

Shyre of Peebles	
Lintoun	Mr James Anderson x *dismissed*
Kirkurd	Mr Alexander Walker *took the oaths and was dismist*
Edelstoune	James Chancellor
Berwick shyre	
Mr James Bullerwall	x *schoolmaster at Dunse dismissed*
Aymouth	Mr Archibald Tory *took the oath and was dismist*
Lauder	Robert Tait
Chirnsyde	Thomas Fleming
Eccles	Mr Alexander Euen
Aytone	Mr William Andersone
Ersiltoune	Mr Thomas Rutherfoord
Swinton	Mr Thomas Brack [*deleted*]
Coldstream	Mr [*blank*] Trotter
Coldingham	Mr Ritchard Smith

4

Ane list of the schoolmaisters in the landward parishes within the shirriffdom of Fyff teaching Latine given in and subscribed by the shirriff deput of Fyff.

The parochins and schoolmaisters names are as follows

Imprimis in the parochin of Abotshall Robert Lilburn
It. in the parochin of Collessie Mr David Walker
It. in the parochin of Largo Mr John Heagie
It. in the parochin of Kilconquhar Mr Alexander Houston
It. in the parochin of Elie Mr Robert Williamsone
It. in the parochin of St Monance Mr John Prophet
It. in the parochin of Kilrinie Mr Mungo Grahame
It. in the parochin of Carnbie Mr William Youngson
It. in the parochin of Kingsbarnes Mr David Lithill
It. in the parochin of Kemback William Petrie
It. in the parochin of Ceres James Fairfull

It. in the parochin of Ferrie Mr John Kid
It. in the parochin of Leuchars Mr Alexander Cupar
It. in the parochin of Logie Mr David Litster
It. in the parochin of Creich Mr Thomas Mairton
It. in the parochin of Denbug Mr James Jacksone
It. in the parochin of Auchtermoughtie Mr James Dalrimple
It. in the parochin of Newbrugh Mr James Smairt
It. in the parochin of Stramiglo Mr David Goodwillie
It. in the parochin of Kettell Mr Thomas Russell
It. in the parochin of Kenoway Mr Andrew Watsone
It. in the parochin of Skunie Mr John Dewar
It. in the parochin of Weymes Mr John Moir
It. in the parochin of Markinsh Mr George Ramsay
It. in the parochin of Leslie Mr John Alisone
It. in the parochin of Kinglassie Mr William Aberneathie
It. in the parochin of Newburn Mr Robert Lindesay
It. in the parochin of Aughterdirren Mr David Seatoun
It. in the parochin of Aughtertool Mr Walter Cock
It. in the parochin of Aberdour Mr James Litster
It. in the parochin of Dalgetie Mr William Johnston
It. in the parochin of Torriburn Mr David Lawsone
Item in the parochin of Balmyrrino John Wyllie[1]

(sgd.) P. Bruce

5

List off the schoolmasters names within the shyre off Angus taken up be James Currier ane off the maires off the said shirefdom given into me John Carnegie shirefdepute thiroff as to landwart.

Robert Pettersone in Drone
Mr William Bowell in Farnell
David Eken in Strickcathrow

[1] A further list of schoolmasters who compeared before the St Andrews Committee on 22 August 1690 is in the commission papers. In addition to the masters at Newburn, Leuchars, Balmerino, Ferrieport-on-Craig, Elie, Largo, Kilconquhar and Ceres we find there: Mr Patrick Lyndsay schoolmaister in St Androus, Mr Alexander Laurie schoolmaister in Falkland, Arthur Sheepherd schoolmaister in Kinross, Mr William Row scoolmaister att Crail.

Mr Patrick Guthrie in Edzell
Mr Patrick Wilkie in Airlie
Mr Patrick Ogilvy in Glames
Mr John Strang in Oathlaw
Mr David Crafts in Innerarittie
Mr James Greive in Kinnell
Mr Thomas Thomson in Innerkeillor
Mr James Fraisser in Craigie
John Jack in Aberlemno
David Watt in Rescobie
James Broun in Cortachie
John Speid in Lochlie
John Bouman in Glenprosson
Alexander Langlands in Guthrie
John Christie in Newtylle
Mr George Brockes in St Viganie
Mr David Melvill in Eassie
Mr Thomas Husband in Kitnes
Mr James Ramsay in Monikie
Mr Thomas Ramsay in Morrows
Andrew Milne in Carmyllie
Alexander Rieche in Maines
Mr John Allardyce in Panbryde
Mr John Pitcairne in Auchterhous
Mr Patrick Walles in Moniefieth
Thomas Boudne in Strickmairtine
Mr Duncan Neisch in Arbirlot
George Mairtoun in Benvie
Mr Robert McIntoch in Tealling
Mr James Ramsay in Tannadice
David Crafts in Fearin
as also Mr William Bouack schoolmaster of the brugh of Forfar[1] [*added later*]
These by order of the said John Carnegie Shirefdepute and of the magistrats of the burh of Forfar subscrivit be me the said James Currier. (sgd.) Ja. Currier mair

[1] Bowack is elsewhere noted as having compeared before the St Andrews Committee on 22 August 1690.

6

List of the schoolmaster and doctor that teaches Latin within the brugh of Cupar given up by the magistrats thereof conforme to the warrant by the Commissioners for visiting of universities etc. which is of the dait the twintie fyfth day of Jully 1690 viz.

Mr John Chalmers schoolmaster

Mr Johne Williamsone school doctor *absent* [*in another hand*]

In testimonie quherof wee the baillies of the said Brugh have subscryved thir presents with our hands at Cupar the twintie [*word illegible*] day of august sixteen hundred four score ten years.

(sgd.) Joseph Knox, Balie
James Cllidsdaill

7

Perth 18 August 90

In obedience to the proclamation of their majesties privie counsell for visiting of schools and colladges, thes ar acquainting you that ther is non that teaches grammar heir save only Mr William Sanders as our schollmaster, Mr David Ireland, Mr John Ramsay and Mr Andrew Blair as his Doctors and Janitor which is all at present from

Sir
Your most humble servant
(sgd.) Robert Smith

8

Downe 18 August 1690

In obedience to the act of parliament for visitatioune of universities colledges and schooles, and to the warrand by the commissioneris for visiting of universities, for citing of pairties befoir their Committie at St Andrewes, wherby the Shireffis of the severall shyres and stewarts of the stewartries therin mentioned and their deputes are ordered to send in subscryvit lists of their schoolmasters teatching Latine within their severall shyres and stewartries I Andro Napeir stewart deput of

Monteith hav sent heir inclosit ane subscryvit list of the schoolmasters teatching Latine within the said stewartrie being all at and from

sir

Your most humble servant

(sgd.) Andrew Napeir

Ane list of the schoolmasters names teaching Latine within the stewartrie of Monteith as followis viz.

Maister James Wingzet schoolmaster at Doune

Mr Robert Muschet late schoolmaster at [?Jhonistoune] [*deleted*]

Andro Ker schoolmaster at Kippen

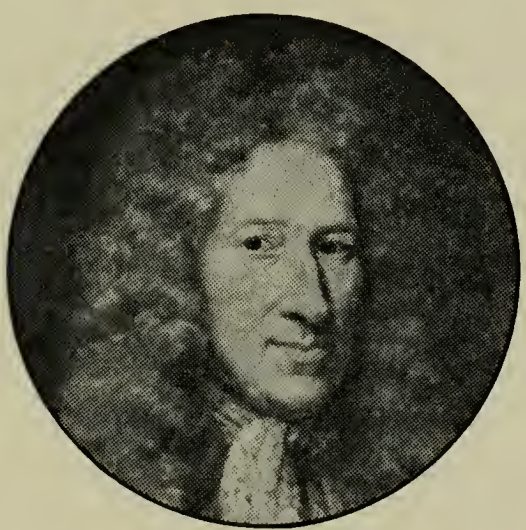
9

A list of the Latine schoolmasters in the Shirreffdoome of Perth wherof no list is given in by the shirreff but their was some that compeared who were in that shire

Mr James Guthry schoolmaster in Elyth.

LETTERS OF ANDREW FLETCHER
of Saltoun and his family, 1715–16

edited by Irene J. Murray



LETTERS OF ANDREW FLETCHER
of Saltoun and his family, 1715–16

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★

INTRODUCTION. It is seldom that a man gains the title of 'Patriot' for fighting solely in the political arena, yet that is the case with Andrew Fletcher. Surely few stormy, tempestuous and in the end unsuccessful political careers can have earned such enduring fame. Study of the private life of Andrew Fletcher reveals him as a fascinating combination of high ideals, lofty motives, quick temper and a shrewd common sense. Yet little has survived of a personal nature about his life; for most of his career only his political writings and speeches survive. But that is, perhaps, as it should be, for his energies, his ambitions and his love are all to be found in his public life. It is only after the Union of 1707 when he retires from politics that his private life as such comes into being; yet it is these last few years of which least is known. This adds greatly to the importance of the family correspondence of the period and in particular to a small batch of his own letters to his nephew and to his brother. These are printed below from the family papers which have now been deposited in the National Library of Scotland.[1]

Andrew's only close relation was his brother Henry, who lived on the small family estate of Saltoun in East Lothian. The brothers were very dissimilar: Henry gives the impression of a very sober, careful man, fully occupied with the problems of a small laird. His letters and writings are embellished with many reflections on the Scriptures, and on the way man should conduct his life, but are warmed by a real love for his sons and, in a slightly reluctant way, for the elder brother whose career had made so many problems for the family.

[1] Acc. 2933.

In his endeavours to make the estate provide a subsistence first for the elder brother, then for his own family, Henry was greatly helped by his wife, Margaret Carnegie. She was a remarkable woman, resourceful and determined, and Andrew seems to have had a considerable respect for her. In an effort to increase their prosperity she introduced a new method of linen manufacture based on knowledge smuggled out of Holland. Her son Andrew, Lord Milton, continued her interest in linen manufacture, and was one of the founders of the British Linen Company. An even more successful venture was the setting up of the Saltoun barley mill, also based on models found in Holland, producing a type of pearl barley which became a household word in Scotland. This mill was one of the things which strained relations between the brothers: Henry wrote to Andrew asking for a tack of the mill, but Andrew, ever shrewd, refused to settle for a definite figure in rent for a fixed number of years, having no idea of the profits which might accrue. The matter was settled on the basis of an even share of the profits, after all expenses had been paid. Considering that the work of running the mill fell entirely on Henry and Margaret, Andrew probably made a good bargain.

As Andrew himself never married, he took a close interest in the children of Henry and Margaret. They had two sons and two daughters. The elder son was named Andrew, in deference to his uncle, and it early became clear that he was destined to be a credit to his namesake. The younger son, Robert, was a great disappointment to his family: he tried several careers, and could settle to none. Eventually his uncle assisted him to find a place on a trading ship, with the idea that he should buy a small share in the cargo for himself and gradually make his fortune as many other enterprising youths had done. One of the last encounters Robert had with his uncle was when he turned up in London, having deserted his ship, and without a penny to his name. Robert must, however, have had considerable personal charm, for besides the well-merited, and no doubt expected, lecture from his uncle, he also received two guineas and went off happily, promising reforms which he had no intention of making. His father continually threatened to cut him off entirely, but never brought himself to do so, and the last heard of Robert was the report of his death while on yet another voyage to seek his fortune.

The young Andrew, however, was of a studious turn of mind, and

decided that he was best suited to a legal career. He therefore followed the time-honoured route to Leyden, and in 1714 matriculated there. The letters written to him there by an anxious mother and father urge him to have a care of his health, pursue his studies to the best of his ability, and above all to endeavour to please his uncle, whose favour could greatly advance his career. The Patriot himself shortly afterwards came to the continent, anxious to see more of his nephew, and spent some time with him. He then went on to Paris and from there wrote the series of letters to his nephew and brother which are printed here.

These letters are the more important because they are written at the time of the 1715 Rebellion, and in them Fletcher voices freely his opinion both of the Jacobites and of the government. They show the speed with which news and rumour reached France, and illustrate how fully Lord Stair, the English Ambassador at Paris, kept himself and his government informed of the Jacobite plans. Fletcher also remarks on the condition of France, just at the beginning of the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, and his comments on prices and the rates of exchange reflect clearly the financial difficulties of the French government.

The letters are not only concerned with politics. They also deal very fully with the purchase of books, in which Fletcher was passionately interested. The building up of his library at Saltoun was one of the few unadulterated pleasures left to him, and it is interesting to see the type of book he considered worthy of a place in it. His natural sense of value and economy, reflected in his comments on book prices, also finds expression in the care he lavishes on advising his nephew on precisely what types of clothes will be best fitted to bring with him on his projected trip to join his uncle in Paris.

It is in these family letters that almost for the first time Fletcher allows himself to be natural and unguarded in expression. They are in sharp contrast to his laboriously composed speeches and his political writings and they most clearly reveal the witty, rather caustic, man who must have been so familiar to his contemporaries. And even in these private letters, his true patriotism, his love for his country which was above and beyond party interest, comes clearly through, and stands far above sickly sentiment.

Andrew Fletcher's own letters have been printed in full. Where

necessary, footnotes have been added to expand or explain his sometimes contracted references to people and events. The books and authors he refers to have been identified as far as possible. His spelling has been reproduced, but the almost entire lack of punctuation has been remedied for the sake of clarity. Extracts from letters of his nephew and brother to Andrew, and to each other concerning him, have been included where they add to the general interest or clarity of Fletcher's own letters. I. J. M.

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Hague, Frayday at night

This is only to desire you to come hither to morrow: you may come by the half after two scout.[1] Bring a clean shirt and cravat with you. And you shal returne by the scout on Sunday at night and so loose no lesson. We have no news hear but what I suppose have heard [*sic*]. A. Fletcher[2]

Henry Fletcher to his son

Salton, Saturday 1 Oct. 1715

I have received a letter from my brother of the 24th Sept. N.S. wherin he forbids me to wryte to him till I get his adress for Paris. If he be stil in Holland, send him this letter. Marshal has proclaimed K. J. at Aberdeen, Southesk at Montrose, Panmure at Brechin. I believe I told you in my last that Mar had set up K. J. standard at Kirkmichel about 5 or 6 miles to the north east of Dunkeld, it was of blew satin and I. R. embroidered in gold on it with the figures III and VIII, it had a globe on the top of it; after it was erected there was solemn prayer made, in the time of prayer the globe fell down, the superstitious Highlanders did not like it. There are a great many gentry with him which is his strength, the rest are but a militia.... It is certain enough that the Clans will joyn him and likewise the Marquis of Huntley. The Marquis of Tullibardin is with him, and the Government begins to doubt the D. of Athol, yet he has given them great promises.... Mar has published a manifesto wherein he tells that K. J. had intrusted him with his affairs in this his ancient Kingdom and made him Lt. General of his Forces: and had ordered him and all his faithful subjects to appear for him in arms at this time, and that he was coming to deliver them from oppression and from a foreign yoake and restore them to their independency (but has not the word Union).... But if they fight not better than they wryte, they will not do much hurt in the contrair party....

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 27 Octob: 1715

I arryved here 25th instant without any bad accident. And had the

[1] A small, flat-bottomed Dutch boat.

[2] This signature is exceptional since Andrew Fletcher's letters normally lack both preamble and subscription.

good luck to have all my mony pay'd me nixt day in new Louis d'ors. Which is so rare a thing that Mr Cuninghame[1] who is going for Venice told me that he could not get 20 Louis in 8 days. I dyned the nixt day with my L. Stairs[2] who was very civil to me and has offered to present me to the Regent.[3] I found the posture of affairs was such that waiting on him was necessary. For my L. of Ormond is gone hence the 25th but none knows where; and my Lord sayes he is not sure but that the pretender may be upon his way. Do not writ any more till I give you a new direction. My harty and humble service to Mr Cuninghame.[4] Tell him there are more curious books at Paris than I imagined. I have not yet got a lodging and shal have great difficulty to settle my self to any kind of ease or conveniency. All things are excessively dear and bad. Adieu.

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 2nd Novem: 1715

I get very exact accounts of what passes in Scotland from my L.S. But I belive that now by the rising in Northumberland all intelligence will be very much interrupted. However I am glad that these people, after having amused themselves to [*word illegible*] upon Cocket water,[5] are gone south, for if they had marched into Merse and Louthian we should have suffer'd very much; my L. Mar at the same time having possesed himself of the coast side of Fife; or at least endevouring it. I have no letters from your father. Pray let me know what you have. I hear the first rencounter was in E. Louthian between 20 horse send by my L. Tweddal, and Keth with as many, which last were beat, and Keth's 2nd son killed.[6] The D. of Orm: as I told you in my last is gone from hence and 'tis thought landed in En: some days ago. His first appearance will tell us much. I wonder I have not received an account

[1] Alexander Cunningham (1654-1736), historian, appointed British envoy to Venice, 1715. [2] John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair, the British Ambassador at Paris.
[3] Philip, Duke of Orleans, Regent of France.
[4] Alexander Cunningham (1655-?1730), the critic. All further references to Mr Cunningham in the correspondence are to this Alexander.
[5] The Earl of Derwentwater, the leader of the English Jacobites, assembled his forces on October 6th at Plainfield, near the river Coquet, in Northumberland, before marching for Warkworth and Hexham.
[6] The action took place on 8 October, at the House of Keith, in Haddingtonshire. See 'A Full and true account of the Action at Keith upon the Eight day of October 1715' (Public Record Office, S.P. 54-9, fo. 84).

of the auctions. I wrot to you by my last not to direct any more by the way I bid you at parting: but now you may direct by the same way till I give a new on. Send me all the Italian discourses that are in the truncks: you know they are stiched in painted paper: let them be sent by land: with the little book Mr Johnson[1] is to send me. All things here are inconvenient and dear beyond imagination. My service to Mr Cuningam. Let me know if he be gone for E. Adieu.

Henry Fletcher to his son

29th Nov, 1715

. . . I find my Brother intends you should make a tour to Paris befor you return home, when you have finished your studys in Holland. I shal agree to it, the more you spare now you will have the more to bestow then but you must stil continue your application to the Law else you shal soon forget all. . . . You have heard no doubt various reports of the battle near Dumblean,[2] but it is certain the Rebels were defeat tho' there was no entire victory; yet Argyle had the honour of the day for he rooted entirely their left wing, remained Master of the field of Battle, took 5 of their Canon and some waggons with ammunition, and 14 standards of Colours, and being but one to three he killed three to one. . . . The gallant E. of Forfar[3] who was on our left was shot in the knee, and not able to retire with the rest, and left in the field when all were gone. Some straglers of the enemy came up to him, he offered to one his purse desiring him to make him his prisoner and carry him off, but he took the purse and gave him some slaps with his sword and left him, another to whom he offered his watch did the same, and a third to whom he gave his wig had the same inhumanity. at last one Mr Caddel came to him and regrated extremely his condition, put him on his Horse, and carryed him to Stirling with all care possible, and when he had done, he desired of my L. Argyle liberty to return, who offered him the best conditions he could desire, but he answered that he had joyned the contrair party out of a principle and that he would not be a deserter, so he had his congé much regrated and esteemed.

[1] Probably Thomas Johnson, the well-known Scottish bookseller and publisher in the Hague.

[2] The indecisive battle at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, 13 November 1715.

[3] Archibald Douglas, 2nd Earl of Forfar, who died at Stirling, 3 December 1715.

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, Novem. N.S. 1715

I received some days ago yours of the 12 instant with your account of the books which I find very reasonable: and did not expect either so easy reates or so many of them. With the rest of the 100 gulders buy what books for yourself you thinck fit. I am sorry to hear that Mr Cuningam has bin ill. You may tell him that there is a vast number of books here and many curious; but at excessive rates: yet that is cheefly for knowen books, but that one may have a great many that are little knowen at easy reates; for which I stand in great need of his help. If he had done his bussines soon [in] London he might have ben here befor now. I was glad to see a letter writ by your father: for I have not yet received any from him. I get the news here from my L. Stairs very particularly as to publick transactions, but what concernes friends I shal be glad to hear any thing you get. My L. s.[1] at present a little freted, and with reason; for the spies he sent to dog the pretender and to follow him into En: have bin some of them taken up: and a most redicoulous aspersion cast on my L. as if he had given orders to kill him: but this is a most infamous calumny for I was present when they were ordered to go and am witness of the falsehood of it. For they were only ordered to see where and when he passed, and to hire a boat and follow him and as soon as they could to give advertisement there. The D. of O. went some 3 weeks ago; tho' there be no news of him yit. 'Tis thought the pretender is sailed to land at Dunstafnige.[2] We expect G. Carpenter[3] will give a good account of those who troubled E. Louthian and we expect it nixt post. I writ you nothing at this time of books and learned men who are more here than any part of the world. Of these

[1] The excellence of Lord Stair's intelligence system has been generally acknowledged. An interesting result of Stair's notorious spy ring, and Fletcher's intimacy with him, is the anecdote in the Master of Sinclair's *Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715* in which he recounts that Charles Forbes, lately returned from France, was spreading the story, on Mar's orders, that Fletcher of Saltoun had turned spy for Lord Stair at Paris. This apparently was Mar's revenge for Fletcher's loud lamentations on the state of his country. Sinclair, forgetting his own woes, says 'I must say I, nor nobodie, has a title to complain of bad usage, when he, whom none of his Countrie was superior to in knowledge, and in true zeall to his Countrie yielded to none of the old Romans, was so served' (op. cit., p. 332).

[2] The castle of Dunstaffnage, at the entrance to Loch Etive, in Argyll.

[3] George Carpenter, lieutenant-general, who had supreme command over all the government forces in the north of England. He prevented the rebels seizing Newcastle, and forced them to capitulate at Preston. He was created a Baron in 1719.

I shal give you more account in my nixt. This was only that I might let you know that I had receved your account of books. Adieu.

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 27 Decem. 1715

I have bin so long a writting because I expected from you a further account of Mr Cuningam's health; which I hope is better because you have not writ. Tell him (if with you) that I wish the first fresh weather he would hast over into England and do his bussines there, that he might be here by the first of April; for the French have once more done what is possible for their owen ruine. And then he may have books very cheap; for 100 lib. ster. will produce abouve 1800 livers or perhaps as exchange falls 1900. If he can not get over till about the first of April after he has done his bussines and got commissions in aboundane [*sic*] it will be as convenient to come back to Roterdam and come with you to Paris, for the road 'twixt Calis and Paris is very inconvenient. You may direct your letters henceforth pour le fair remit a Mon. Fletcher. My service to Mr Cambel, Mr Gordon and Mr Waddel.[1] I got your exact account of the books bought at the auction. Adieu. Let me know how your studys go on. Have a great care of your health.

Henry Fletcher to his brother

Saturday 21 Januar 1716

In your last you desired a description of the Highland Targe, which I shal give you according to the best Impersonation I have yet got, but is not perfect. The outward forme of ane Highland Targe is a convex circle, about 2 foot diameter, but some have them oval; the innermost part of it nixt the man's breast is a skin with the hair upon it, which is only a cover to a steel plate, which is not very thick, for the whole is no great weight; on the inner side of this Steel plate the Handle is fixed, which hath two parts, one that the left arm passes throw till near the elbow, the other that the Hand lays hold on: without the Steel plate there is a Cork which covers the Steel plate exactly, but betwixt the Cork and the Steel plate there is Wooll stuffed in very hard: the Cork is covered with plain well-wrought leather, which is nailed to

[1] Probably the Joannes Campbel who matriculated at Leyden 21 November 1714 and the Georgius Waddel who matriculated 16 November 1715. There is no record of a Mr Gordon having matriculated at that time. (Edward Peacock, ed., *Index to English Speaking Students who have graduated at Leyden University*, Index Society, 1883.)

the Cork with nails that have brass heads, in order round, drawing thicker towards the center. From the center sticks out a Stiletto (I know not the right name of it, but I call it so, because it is a sort of short poignard) which fixes into the Steel plate and wounds the Enemy when they close: about this Stiletto closs to the Targe ther is a peece of Brass in the forme of a Cupelo about 3 inches over and coming half way out on the Stiletto and is fixed upon it. Within this brass ther is a peece of Horn of the same forme like a cup, out of which they drink their usquebaugh, but it being pierced in the under part by the Stiletto, when they take it off to use it as a cup, they are obliged to apply the forepart of the end of their finger to the hole to stop it, so that they might drink out of their cup. The leather which has several lines impressed on it, the brass heads of the nails disposed in a regular way, the brass cupelo, and the Stiletto, which make up the outside of the Targe, give it a beautiful aspect. The Cork they make use of is ane excrescence of their Birk-trees, which when green cuts like ane Apple, but afterwards comes to that firmness that a nail can fasten in it. The nails sometimes throw off a ball, especially when it hits the Targe a squint: but tho' a ball came directly upon it and miss the nail heads, piercing betwixt them, yet they reckon that the leather, the cork, the wooll so deaden the ball, that the Steel plate, tho' thin, repells it and lodges it in the wooll. I want yet to know the exact dimensions of the most approved Targe (for they are very various) both as to the largeness and thickness of the Steel plate, and how it is tempered, the thickness of the Cork, and of the wool stuffing, and the weight of the whole Targe, which I shal endeavour to get an account of. General Evans said that he had often seen Foot resist Horse, but that he had never seen Foot attack Horse but at the late Battel. Evans and Haly his Lt.-Colonel were blamed for being mounted on Horses of a quite different colour from those of their Regiments, which drew the shot upon them: Evans' Horse had 16 ball in him, the plates of his Coat were pierced with ball, his Steel cap was cloven, but he got but a Scratch in the head; Haly's horse had 4 ball in him, and was shot in the body, but is recovering. Forfar dyed about 20 days after the battel regrated by all. . . . The Earle Marischal by chance met my Lord Haddo coming South, who told him he was going to Edr. and had Mar's pass, Marschal said he had often conversed with him on the affairs now in hand and was very much guided by his sentiments and hoped that he would

not now leave them: Haddo answered that they might get a man for sixpence a day that could do them more service than he could: to which Mareschal reply'd you have put a just value on yourself, and they that would make you pass for more are in the wrong to you. The pretender landed the 22 or 23 of December our style near Peterhead, came to Aberdeen on the 24th with 2 Gentlemen and 2 Servants, he did not make himself known there, but took a guide to Fetter-esso, where he first discovered himself. . . . He was very sick at sea with vomiting and purging, and has now an Ague. . . . Some people talk of a Coronation at Scone and a Parliament at Perth, but I believe they will hardly get leisure for these things. My Lord Argyle has made a demand of sixteen hundreth baggage Horse from the Country that is near him, whereof East Louthian puts out 100 Carts with 3 Horse a piece, your proportion is two, the demand was made on Saturday last and the Carts marched on Tuesday; the Government pays to the Carter 8 pence a day and 2 pence worth of Bread, and allows for the entertainment of each Horse a shiling a day besides fodder, and the[y] pay the Horses that are lost or spoyled. The Season is extremely cold, the frost has lasted already 7 weeks, I have given your Carters Boots and furred Caps and a double Highland plaid to keep them warm, and the Horse are sheated. . . . It is said the Pretender when he entered Perth made a very moving speech to those who crowded around him. There are pressing orders from above to hasten the march of our Army, notwithstanding of the rigor of the season, and it is thought Argyle will march the beginning of nixt week. . . .

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 20 Feb. N.S.

This is in answer to yours of Jan. the 7th and lickways to that of Feb. the 8th. Tell Mr Cuningam, if he be still with you, that I thanck him for his presents; and chiefly for having supplyed du Canye.[1] Let Ju. Grollun be bound in parchment without any bands on the back and in two volumes as little cut as may be. 'Tis lick I may give you the trouble of buying for me several books newly printed in Holland befor you come hither for which you shal draw a bill on your father to be placed to my account: because their are several books lately printed there which I neglected to buy and are necessary for me. Aske

[1] Charles Dufresne, Dominus du Cange, French historian and philologist.

Mr Cun. wither the new Edit. of Suidas is cheaper in Holland or Eng.; Kuster[1] is publishing a critical Dissertation on the first Muse of Gronovious's edition of Herodot. I wist and endevour to perswade him to continu which if he do those Dissert. will be worth a new edit. and the best; because he has a rare M.S. out of the King's Library. Forget not the Danzik Catalogue. We have got latly Epictetus and Simplicius trans. by Mr Dacier[2]; and are to have very quickly Quintilian by a good hand. I am mightily concerned that Mr Cuningam does not shake of that delaying humour of his, and the rather because I know his nephew cheats him. There are no men more incorrigable in thire faults than those who have other ways good tallents and great capacity. I belive you need not expect that a man who has ben almost a year in resolving to go into Eng. can go thither, come back and go with you into France in two or three months time. And you know I love to be punctual: and expect you here by the first of June N.S. but let me know wither that precise time will consist with the finishing of your studys: and what objections you have to it: or what els you thinck fit to propose. The pretender has bin in Scot. now a month and a half; and is, they say, taking all the pains he can to ruine his owen affairs; which convinces everybody who formerly did not belive it that he is of the Family. The same day I got your last I received on from your Father, he is God be thancked well. My humble service to Mr Gordon, Mr Cambel and Mr Weddal. Be sure when Mr Cun. goes you get from him Martanae Quæstiones Lucullianae fol. Least he forget it. For the book is myn. My service to Mr Johnston.

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 10 March 1716

Since your Colledyes do not end till the 10 or 12 of Julay and that it will be a losse for you to leave Lyden befor that time I am positive that you continue your studys till then; but then you must order your affairs so that you may come from thence in a day or two thereafter. That I may expect you here about the 24 of Julay. And that God willing we may take jornay from hence about the 24 of Sept. If you can, contrive it so as to have at least one good commarad. If Mr Cuning-

[1] Ludolph Küster, German philologist: *De Museo Alexandrino diatribe, nunc primum edita.*

[2] André Dacier, French translator: *Le Manuel d'Epictète et les Commentaires de Simplicius.*

hame be not yit gone pray writ to him and desire he may writ you the prices of these following books; that is what I should give for them here: let the prices be marked in English mony, viz Cujacius[1] in 10 vol., Basilicon 7 vol., Hottoman[2] 3 vol., Ant. Fabeir[3] de jure Pragmaticorum and Jus Papinianeum 3 vol., Corpus Hist. Bizantini 32 vol.[4] Tho' I belive I shal not buy this last but only some choise volumes of them that may be found separat which I desir him to marke with the prices. Mornucias[5] lickways and any other considerable Law book which he thincks you will stand in need of. I shal writ you a list of those books I desing you should buy afterwards. In the meantime if you can get a good bargain of Kuster's Aristipanes and Harduini[6] Opera Selecta, both in folio, buy them. The Quintilian is so far advanced and Burman's[7] too far behind to be servicable to it. Some talk here of a war; but I hope without ground; if it should fall out perhaps I may come by you. My most harty service to my friend Cuningame, whom I hope to see at London in my L. Sund.[8] Library. My service to Mr Johnston whom I shal be very sorry if I never have the occasion to see agen. My service to all with you, Mr Gordon, Mr Cambel and Mr Waddal. You may tell Mr Cuningame that he may comfort himself as to books in this place: for after further experience I find good ones both scarse and dear. I am reading with extraordinary application and delight Daniel's[9] history of France which, bar his Machines, the Sants and the Pope, is one of the best writ historys extant. I writ you nothing of news. Adieu.

Henry Fletcher to his son

Edinburgh, 17 March 1716

. . . The Rebels are almost all dispersed, some fled to France, some to Sweden. Ther are still some of our Nobility and Gentry in the Hills, where it is said the Clans had 1800 men under 6 Chieftains ready to joyn and oppose any force that shal be used, Seaforth is with them. . . . We expect every day a commission of Oyer and Terminer to try the Rebels who are prisoners here. I suppose the midle course will be taken,

[1] Jacobus Cujacius, French jurist. [2] François Hotman, French jurist.
[3] Antoine Favre, jurisconsult: *Jurisprudentiae Papinianae Scientia, De erroribus Pragmaticorum.* [4] *Corpus Byzantinae historiae*, 31 vols. (Paris, 1645-1702).
[5] Antonius Mornacius. [6] Jean Hardouin, French antiquary and historian.
[7] Petrus Burmannus, Professor of Rhetoric and History at Utrecht.
[8] Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland. [9] Gabriel Daniel, French historian.

and that they will shew both acts of Justice and Mercy; it is thought that the Lords who are reprieved will make discoverye which will deserve their life. I am extraordinar glad of the hopes you give me that you shal have Mr Cunningham's company to Paris, and you are to regulat your journey accordingly, and as for your stay there your Uncle shal determin it, let me know in time what you need both for in Holland and for your journey. Present my service to Mr Cunningham.

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 22 April 1716

I wrot two posts ago to Mr Cuningame to perswade him by all the arguments I could make use of to go to London. I hope you have seen the letter. I did this because I thought it in his interest. And would not preferre yours or myn to it. If you have not seen it desire him to let you see the letter; that you may second it by all the art you can make use of. If you see it will not do, then see if it be probable that he will come with you to Paris; that we may carry him over about the end of September. But I should be very sorry that it could not be done any other way: for in the condition he is in, he may fall seck and give himself and us great trouble. As to the expence he would put me to I should not value it. I have got your great Catalogue. I send you inclosed a list of what I desire you should buy for me. These before which there is a little mark * are books that I do not know, but Mr Cuningame will; and either score them out or put the price to them; and all the rest. There are two or 3 or 4 that I must have at any rate, the cheef is pag. 627 no. 3537 G. Salusti Hebdomas latine vers, per Gab. Lermeum. And if any ways tolerably conditioned bring it along in your pocket, 'tis in 12°. The nixt is pag. 154 no. 2531 Gul. Bellendus[1] de tribus luminibus Rome fol. The 3rd is pag. 271 no. 1679 Arist. polit. G and L 4° en edit. Conringii. That you must lickways bring along with you for I have promised it to Mr Dacier on condition he will translate it. Pag. 624 no. 3486 Ang. Decc. p. 628 no. 3557 Strabeus de verb. electione; buy this for Mr Cuningame and present him that mite for his folios. I should be glad lickways to have p. 629 no. 3567 Gul. Insulani Miscellania and p. 632 no. 3611 Aon. Palearius of the edition of Basil, if it be fair. According to which rule the prices of all the rest

[1] William Bellenden, Professor of Humanity in the University of Paris.

must be governed. There are some other books that you must buy for me as Harduini Opera Selecta fol., if that in the Catalogue do not please you or that you get it not. Kuster's Aristophanes fol.; the new Edition of Silvius Italicus Deliciae Poetarum Damorum; Grotiis Poemata; the 7th vol. of Fabricius's[1] Bibliotheca Graeca 4° and the 6 volume of Hess his Histoir de l'Empire, these two last unbound. You must lickways buy for me Memoirs de du Plessi Mornay[2] in 4 vol. in 4°. And because they are thick they must be bound in velin without bands. For all this and any other I shal afterwards add, take money at Roterdam and draw a bill payable by me with all charges for my books thereon; which pray cause send in safe bottomes. I hope they have not the barborous custome in Scotland of percing all the covers.[3] If they have you must advertise your father that he may make interest to prevent it. Desir Mr Cuningam to see if there be any book in this auction which he thincks would be proper for Mr Commelin to whom I owe one: and in that case buy it and send it him. Let him mynd my Lucan and cary the note with him to London. It should be upon fine paper but not great, Mr Buckly promised it so. My service to all friends.

Buy lickways for me the new edition of Thuanus[4] restitutus 12°. And have a care of missing the 8° and 12°s of the Siverationes, which usually they begin with. But you must employ some constant man that is never from the auction. Buy lickways for me the new edition of Philip de Comines[5] in 8° in 4 or 5 volume printed last year at Bruxelles.

Iuridice folio

p. 42 n. 707 Ant. Fabri conjecturae
43 n. 716 Fr. Baldinus if that edition be as good as that of 1583. [Franciscus Balduinus[6]]
43 n. 719 Barth. Chesii. [Bartholomaeus Chesius]
43 n. 720 Ang. Mathaecius. [Angelus Mattheacius]
46 n. 778 Donellus enucliatus if it be that of Hiligerus. [Oswald Hilliger, *Donellus enucleatus*]
*60 n. 1002 Le. Duardi de forma. [Leonardus Duardus]

[1] Johann Albert Fabricius, Professor of Eloquence, Hamburg.
[2] Philippe de Mornay, French protestant, better known as du Plessis-Mornay.
[3] A customs regulation.
[4] Jacques Auguste de Thou, French historian, author of *Thuanus Restitutus.*
[5] Philip de Commines, French statesman and historian.
[6] Editorial identifications have been added to this list in square brackets.

4°

p. 246 n. 1249 Conring: de orig. [Hermann Conring]
258 n. 1437 Mantuae Benavidae if it be his observatione legales. [Marcus Benavidius called Mantuanus]
259 n. 1455 Fabrot, ad. Salmasii. [Charles Annibal Fabrot]
*260 n. 1485 F. Martinus, de jure. [Friedrich Martini, *De jure censuum, etc.*]
*263 n. 1536 Faber, de Religione, if not contained in one of his 10 vol.
264 n. 1546 Conring, de forma.
271 n. 1679 Arist. Polit. G. and L.
273 n. 1736 Conring, Disser.

8°

p. 470 n. 946 Balduinus, de Legibus if it be rusticis. [Franciscus Balduinus]
*471 n. 956 H. Latherus, de Censu. [Hermann Lather]
472 n. 972 Jul. Pacius, Oecon. [Julius Pacius]
476 n. 1043 Pauli recept. sent., if with Reteshusius his notes. [Julius Paulus, *Sententiarum receptarum libri quinque . . . recogniti . . . per Cour. Rittershusium*]
482 n. 1121 S. Gentilis parerg. [Scipio Gentilis, *Parergorum ad Pandectas*]
487 n. 1201 Charond. Verisim. [Ludovicus Charondas]
495 n. 1340 Biddamani Utopia. [Jacobus Bidermanus]

Literatores in folio
[This list is missing]
Literatores in 8°

p. 592 n. 2940 Arist. Orat. 2 vol. G. and L.
593 n. 2956 Polemanis G. and L. [Polemon]
597 n. 3016 Cunaei Orationes. [Petrus Cunaeus]
597 n. 3029 A. Ricobonus. [Antonio Riccoboni]
598 n. 3046 Fr. Bencii Orat. [Franciscus Bencius]
*600 n. 3067 Homigerus etc.
*601 n. 3083 Sturmias etc. [Johann Sturm]
601 n. 3097 Perpiniani Orat. [Petrus Joannes Perpinianus]
606 n. 3172 Theocrit. G. and L.
611 n. 3276 Carmina Poet. Ital. 2 vol.
612 n. 3282 Maltherorum carmine.

612 n. 3288 Gab. Hessi, Opera.
615 n. 3340 Heldinus, et Lacuna. [Casparus Heldinus]
619 n. 3401 Biddemanus.
624 n. 3486 Ang. Decemb. [Angelus Decembrius]
627 n. 3537 G. Salust Heb . . .[1] per Gab. Lermeum. [Gabriel de Lerm, *Guillelmi Sallustii Bartassi Hebdomas . . . a G. Lermeo . . . Latinate donatum*]
628 n. 3557 Strabeus de . . .[1]
629 n. 3567 Gul. Insulanus . . .[1] [Gulielmus Insulanus Menapius]
629 n. 3569 Buchleri eligantae. [Johann Buchler, *Eligantiarum linguae latinae regulas 159 cum formis variandi orationes*]
630 n. 3578 A. Schorus. [Antonius Schorus]
632 n. 3611 Aon. Palearius. [Aonio Paleario]
636 n. 3678 Fred. Imperatori.

Henry Fletcher to his son

I am very well pleased that you was not so fond of going to Paris as to leave your business imperfect at Leyden, and my brother has writ me to that purpos. Your mother is for your taking off 6 new shirts and what cravats you need; a Bill shal be sent to you a month befor you are to leave Leyden that you may not be stopped, for you must be punctual with my brother and not lose a day. You may see and learn more in 2 months when he is at Paris, than you would do in six if he were not there. . . . The Government intends to subdue the Highlands, they have offered the commonality amongst them ane indemnity if they bring in their Arms; they order their Chieftains and Gentry to surrender upon discretion: they have strengthned the Garrison of Innerlochy and Innerness and Cadogan[2] is marched from Perth to Dunkell with 4000 men, from whence he is marching to Ruthven in Badenoch, which is to be his headquarters and is looked upon as the center of the Highlands. . . .

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 8 May N.S. 1716

I am surprized that I hear not either from you or Mr Cuningame; and am affrayed he is ill. I forgot to tell you in my last that one Mr

[1] Page torn in original.
[2] Charles Cadogan, 2nd Baron Cadogan.

Lyon who is our cousin and a very discreet young man, Governor to an English Gentleman called Liddal, was coming by Holland for England. Present my service to him. If he can get a pupile quickly and were come agen by the way of Holland for Paris you would be very happy in his company. When I wrot last I sent you a long list of the books you were to buy for me in the auction, I hope 'tis come to your hands. I writ a list of some other books you were to buy for me, one of which you shal score out, Harduini Opera selecta fol., if you have not yet bought it already; and add Sanazati[1] Poemata cum notis et Amultheorum Carminibus 12° printed lately I belive at Amsterdam: your father has at length found the great list of Law books which Mr Cuningame gave me long ago and has sent it me. There is one book in it viz. Decretalis Gonzalii[2] 5 vol., fol. Ask Mr Cuningame if it be a necessary book, and whither it supplys the want of a Corpus Iuris Canonici for there is none in the list. Let him tell me lickways what is the best edition of Mabilion[3] de re Diplomatica and its price in Holland. Score out of the list pag. 612 no. 3282 Amaltheorum Carmina. I shal be glad henceforth to hear as frequently from you as your leasure will allow, or that you have any thing considerable to say. And forget to answer no particular in my letter, for I forget to repeat them when not answered. I have some obscure memory as if I had already Donellus Hiligeri fol. Tho' it is not in my catalogue. On which account buy it not if it be not cheap. My service to all friends. Adieu.

Henry Fletcher to his son

Salton, 19 May 1716

. . . I hope you have not yet sent my brother's books, for bound Books are treated here at our Custom-house as Counterband goods, therfor if the thing be yet entire, send them in a Pans[4] ship and direct them to Mr Hadden, Collector at the Pans, without mentioning to whom they are to be delivered. . . . Two of our near relations have been involved in this rebellion, Robt. Fletcher of Balinsho and Menzies of Pitfoddls,[5] the first is lurking some where, but the last surrendered

[1] Jacapo Sannazaro, Italian poet.
Emmanuel Gonzales Tellez, *Commentaria perpetua in singulos textus quinque librorum Decretalium Gregorii.*
[3] Jean Mabillon, Benedictine monk and historian.
[4] Prestonpans, East Lothian.
[5] William Menzies of Pitfoddels.

himself and is in prison here; no body knows what the court's intentions are, but it is belived that all against whom probation can be found will be condemned, and that then the King will show mercy as to their lives, but it is believed ther will be many forfaultures. . . . The Rebellion is entirely quashed here, as well in the Highlands as the low country, and none but a few chimerical people feed themselves with fancys of the pretender's return. . . .

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 26 [May?] N.S. 1716[1]

I have now received two from you telling me that Mr Cuningame was gone for London. But none from him: which I take to be a good omen that he will not die this year. Tho' indeed in the receiving your first letter I was affrayed of the excessive cold was then. And if you remember writ to him not to go till the weather was perfictly warme. You are in the right about Faber; so score it out. But if you can get his 2 volumes de Erroribus pragmaticorum and his Jus papinianeum for 12 shilings ster. and Mornacius 4 toms for 30 sh., which were the rates made by Mr Cuningame which you sent me, pray buy them, even tho' they should cost mor, for no such bargins can be got here: and I belive these books will be necessary for you. I would not you should putt yourself at all to any trouble about the auction; but to employ the man that Mr Cuningame made use of, or some other. And even as much as you can other people for buying the other books that I have writ to you for; and not losse one minute for your lessons and private studys. A smal messer of mony, wel bestowed, will do all this for me. But buy as fast as you can and have all things raddy that your jornay may not be stopt by a day. Do not give any excessive rate for any book in the auction except pag. 271 Arist. Politicks for which you may give 4 gul. 10 and pag. 611 no. 3276 Carmina Poetarum Ital. 2 vol., if they be very fair give 7 gulder 10 st. rather than want them. Provide yourself in good plain linnings and writ me what cloathes you have. I shal writ to you afterwards about that article. I am glad my friend is come to L. You would informe your self how far you may safly converse with him. I have just now refused to see my L. Ma[1].[2] because I am not on good termes with the A. I thinck when things are so recent no

[1] Month omitted, in error.

[2] George Keith, Earl Marischal, who escaped from South Uist to Brittany, May 1716.

caution is more than enough. Specialy where no real service can be done. My service to Mr Cambel who I would hope should come along with you. We might keep a coach betwixt us for 2 months and see all that is worth seeing in Paris and about it. Have a great care of your health. And if you can get at least one good commarad for your jornay. Adieu. My service to Mr Gordon, Mr Waddel and Mr Johnston, and to Sir James and Farquar if they be in Holland.

Andrew Fletcher to his brother

Paris, 6 June N.S. 1716

I desir you may immediatly tell the Lady Balensho that 'tis in vain for her to thinck I can do any service for my Cousin.[1] These who come from London, and particularly Dr Oliphant who has passed here going to the South of France for his health, who should know as well as any body, tell me that they belive all those ingaged in that affair will be forfalted. Tell her I have writ 3 times to the E. of Sunderland, and once to Secretary Stenhop[2] and have received no answer: tho' you know very well these people have some consideration for me. But it seems no particular solicitation will signify. And that all must submitte to general reules and methods. Besides I am at such a distance, as knowing nothing of these measures, cannot regulat my self according to them, nor be in time for occasions and opportunitys. You may tell her that by my letters, My Lord and the Secritary knows that Balenshow is my near relation: and if their be any particular favour, which I do not expect, it will not be the worse for him. I shal only say one thing, that I am very sorry his Majesty receives so very bad advise in that whole affair. For I hate the thoughts of the pretender as much as any man breathing. And in the alternative whither his Ma. was to have all these peoples harts or there lives he has ben advised to the last and must take them. For the via di mezzo was always ruinous. The Torys and the Jacobites are idiotes and mad-men. And the Whig party are some of them traitors to their country and others half witted. God have mercy on the country. Because the exchange still continues excessively high I have drawn a bill upon you only for 50 lib. ster. which you must

[1] Robert Fletcher of Balensho is not known to have been a prisoner and presumably was able to make his escape. His son came out in the Forty-five.

[2] James Stanhope, 1st Earl of Stanhope.

pay upon sight, because Mr Camelion would have it so, being a smal bill, on Mr Midleton. When your son comes which I hope wil be little more than a month hence you must expect great ones. God preserve you all.

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 16 June 1716

The occasion of my writing to you at this time is a reflexion I have made about your cloathes. Some time ago I writ to you about several things: and told you that as for your cloathes, that was one article I should writ of afterwards. The very nixt letter I received from you which was writ I suppose befor myn came to your hands, you told me you had bought a sutte of droget and sold your old cloathes to advantage. I made no answer to this in my last, because I thought the thing was done. But now when I consider; that the morning[1] will still last a month after you are come to Paris, that in that time the fashons will come to be better knowen; that you must have some kind of cloathes immediatly upon your arrival, that the fashons then will not be so well knowen; I wish you had bought your self a sutte of black which will be always of use to you: and their is no cloath lick the Dutch black: and would have bin proper for your appearance here at first. Besides if the heats be great about the time of your arrival, and you buy a colored sutte, it must be of stuff, which will do you no service: and about the end of August a cloath lined with silk will be in Season. So that if about the time you come away you could get your droget put off and a black sutte lined with a thin stuff made you would have many advantages by it. I travelled from Bruxelles in my black sutt and since it has never bin off my back. I belive I told you that when you have seen Antwerp and Bruxelles you had best go by Gent to Lylle and there take the Coach for Paris; for Lylle is worth the seeing, but that you may regulat according to your company. Adieu.

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 30 June 1716

I writ this only because I have received no answer from you about that which I wrot to you of changeing your droget sutte for one of good

[1] Louis XIV had died on 1 September 1715.

black cloath which will always be of good use to you and save you the trouble of making a sutte immediately upon your coming to town. I have no more to say but that if the new edition of Madam Dacier's[1] Tirence which is printed in Holland be finished you buy it for me. Mr Frith can give you the 6 vol. of Hess. He promised to sent it to me I do not know how often befor I left the Hague. There is no hazard of traveling with a black sutte since you go not a horseback. Mr Cambel's friends gives him very odde orders. My humble service to all friends. Adieu.

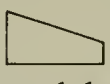
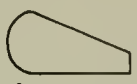
Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

Paris, 3 Julay 1716

I have received yours of the 25 June in which you tell me that your Colleges will end that day fortnight and that you will take journay the Monday thereafter which will be the 13th day of Julay. I shal see what I can do with Mr Cambel and Mr Waddel. Writ to me from Bruxels and from Lylle. It were redicoulus for you to post from thence since it is but the gaining of 3 days and will spoyle your black sutte. These Gentlemen may do what they please but upon the same considerations I have writ to you they ought lickways to come in a black sutte, for all Paris will still be in black till the month of Sept. and the season being lick to prove rainy they will be in good pickle and must at least wait 3 days in their chamber for cloathes, and either make a black sutte of the vile cloath of this place, or be out of the fashon; and lickways not know what colored cloathes to make because there will be new fashons upon quitting of the morning. There is no alteration in the fashon of the coat but that the slive must not be as mine was made but thus . Bring with you lickways a pair of black silk stockings if you can get them good and cheap for they [are] very dear here. Ther is a new Virgil in Latine and French prose with critical notes, of which the Dutch edition will be better than that of Paris; if it be finished, buy it in sheets. For it is now too late for you to cause bind any thing and I shal trouble you no more about books because you must have time to send them away befor you go. I am sorry you missed so good a bargain as Gonzales but perhaps the book will not be very useful for you. As I wrot to you I wish you may have bought all these

[1] Anne Lefèvre, Madame Dacier, scholar, wife of André Dacier, the translator.

that will be necessary; for there are none to be got here at any tollerable rate. When you take coach at Lylle writ to me what night you will be at Paris and what place the coach comes to that I may meet you. Adieu.

This is the outside of the flap  others cut it thus  but the best is to make it very large and then if there be any alteration it is easely mended. Another consideration for these Gentlemen to come in black is that if they take of cloathes in the end of Julay or at the beginning of August they must be summer cloathes; but if not till the 2nd of Sept. they may be winter which will save them a sutte. Let me know if this letter comes in time to make them change their cloathes into black which will be always useful for them.

Henry Fletcher to his brother

21 July 1716

. . . We know not what measures our Court is taking about mercy or severity, but the Jacobites are crying horridly out at the least appearance of severity and on the meantime rejoycing in their hearts and wishing that there were less mercy showen, but a House divided against itself cannot stand. They are glad at my Lord Argyle's[1] disgrace and think it will breed more ill blood and throw him in amongst them, but in this as in all other things they mistake their measures. I cannot yet give you a true account of the reason of his disgrace, but it is supposed to be that he endeavoured to have the prince's power unlimitat, and the English ministry were aware that they would have no share in affairs. Dr George Gardens[2] made his escape out of prison Saturday last in his sister's cloaths who is very like him.

Andrew Fletcher to his nephew

I have ben very ill of a loosnes, and tho' I hope I am now upon the mending hand, yet I desir you may quit your company and come to me alone. I have therefor sent my footman with this line that he may call you a coach and bring you hither straight.
A hostel d'Espaigne dans la rue de Seine.

[1] The Duke of Argyll was suddenly deprived of all his offices in June 1716.
[2] Dr George Garden, Scottish divine and a Professor at Aberdeen, made his escape to the Continent, but had returned to Aberdeen before 1720.

Henry Fletcher to his brother

Salton, Thursday 2 Aug. 1716

I received yesternight two from you of the 28 July and 1 Aug. in which last there was one to Mr Lundy. I am glad your sickness was over befor I knew any thing of it, a looseness uses to do you good, but it seems this fit has been severer than these you have formerly had and therfor it is no wonder if you recover slowly, ther is one good thing that attends this disease, it leaves no dregs behind it. . . . We know not yet what measures will be taken with the prisoners but it is probable that every thing will be at a stand till the parliament sit down in winter. This week the D. of Montrose took his place in the session as Clerk Register, they call him Duke Clerk. The Jacobites are mighty uppish upon the command that is given to the Duke of Berwick,[1] they think it is all designed for them. Our Winter was hard but our Summer is yet harder, the Commonhaughs are so burnt up that it is a pain to walk upon them they are so sliddery. The crop in Louthian is bad and particularly here, but they have had seasonable rains both in the North and West. After the first of Nov. nixt no person in the places following is to bear or have in his custody Sword, Target, poynard, whinger or Dirk, pistol or Gun or any other warlike weapon, viz. the shire of Dumbarton on the north side of Leven, Stirling on the north side of Forth, Perth, Kingcardin, Aberdeen, Innerness, Nairn, Cromarty, Argyle, Forfar, Bamff, Sutherland, Caithness, Elgin and Ross. Adieu.

Andrew Fletcher to his brother

London, Tewsday the 21 Aug. 1716

Your Son and I arrived here on Saturday at night, but so late we could not writ that night. I may very well say that without his help and extreem kind assiduity I had never bin able to come here, but would have bin obliged to stop by the way with a thousand inconveniencys and to the great hazard of my health: which is still very bad, and the looseness no ways stopt. But I stil hope I may recover some strength to be able to get to Salton. We not haveing made a rag of cloathes at Paris for hast to be gone I have drawen a bill upon you at 20 days sight, this day; for one hundred pounds. God preserve you all. Direct as you

[1] On 13 October 1716, the Pretender sent a commission to Berwick as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, superseding Mar. Berwick refused, claiming he was unable to leave France without the Regent's permission.

use to do to Mrs Duras's in Charles Street nixt door to St James' Square.

Henry Fletcher to his brother

Tuesday 28 Aug. 1716

I received yours from London yesternight and am very sorry for the bad state of your health; it is a great satisfaction to me that Andrew was any ways serviceable to you upon the road. I am persuaded your own air will do you good, and that you can be no where so well as in your own House, where you will be better cared for than among strangers. All here will make you as well-come as your heart can wish. I do not doubt but your cousin B. has been with you befor this. I hear that the prisoners which were taken at Dumblain are to march on Thursday from this toward Carlisle to be tryed there, amongst these is our cousin Pitfodels,[1] he was in the battle, and surrendered himself afterwards when Argyle came to Aberdeen. I wish something could be done for him, but know not anything about the method to be taken. Adieu.

Henry Fletcher to his brother

Salton, 6 Sept. 1716

I hope you received mine in answer to that you wrote when you arrived at London. My son wrote to me since that you had advised with Dr C. who is said to have a specifick for your disease, but at the same time he told me that you had very quickly quit him and taken yourself to kitchin physick, which I was glad of. My wife was projecting that as the best method for you when you came home. I belive easy journeys on Horseback, if you can endure it, will do you much good. I wish you were at home, and that you would take journey befor the weather breaks, the sooner the better, and that you would take that sort of voiture which will be easiest to you, certainly a Hackney coach is no wise fit for you, ane easy pad or a coach of your own are the only way. Draw upon me for what you will, and it shal be answered, and spare nothing for your conveniancy. I long to hear

[1] Menzies of Pitfoddels was confined in 'Winton's House in the Canongate' before transfer to Carlisle, but escaped about 1 September 1716. He died in 1780, aged 92. See A. and H. Tayler, *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Rising of 1715* (Edinburgh, 1934), p. 156.

from yourself. I pray God may remove your disease and recover you to your strength again. Adieu. My wife gives her service to you and wishes to see you here that she might contribut something to the recovery of your health, she says she can never be thankful enough to you for your kindness to Andrew.

Henry Fletcher to his son

13 Sept. 1716

. . . I was very well pleased by the first [letter] to know that you had not gone to Oxford but that you waited closs on your Uncle; do him all the service that lyes in your power. . . . If it shal please God to call for my brother at this time, his Body must be sent down by sea, unless he gives express orders to the contrair, but I would not have you come by sea.

Andrew Fletcher to his brother

My recovery being not only uncertain but almost desperate I thought fit whatever might happen to send you this. I design to make no formal will seeing what I have will naturally go to you, I only desire that Two Hundred Pounds sterling value may be employed in relieving the most necessitous poor Scots prisoners or others who are rendered miserable by the late Rebellion. I have desired your son to bestow in this Town a third or fourth part of the forsaid soume to the said use in the most charitable way he can. I likewise for the love and favour I bear to Mr Alexander Cunningham to whom I have been much obliged and from whom I have received many kind services these many years, and to whom your Son has been much obliged and may still be more; for these reasons I desire you would pay to him at Martinmass nixt one Hundred Pound sterling. I have left no other paper than this, having sufficient confidence that you will not neglect to perform this my request. A. Fletcher.[1]

Andrew Fletcher to his father

London, Saturday at past 10 oclock

My Uncle continues still to grow weaker and weaker, he has had two convulsive fits this day, in both which we were affraid that he should

[1] This letter is written in another hand, and is only signed by Fletcher.

have expired. Dr Arbuthnott does not believe its possible he can live many hours. Some days ago I asked him if he would see Doctor Clark, minister of our paroch Church St James's, with whom I was told he was well acquaint and for whom he had a great kindness, but he shifted it, I was very sorry for it because it might give some people occasion to make reflections but yesterday to my great satisfaction about 4 o'clock in the afternoon he called upon Mr Cunningham, Mrs Duras, our landlady, his servant and the Nurse, and upon me, and desired us to come near that he had something that was very serious to tell us and called for some water to wash his mouth that we might understand what he said the better; lest (says he) I turn afterwards so weak as not be able to speak; I take all of you to witness that I dye in the believe of the only true God and in hopes to be saved by the merites of Jesus Christ in whom alone I have confidence. Then he stopped a little, and Mr Cunningham beginning to retire thinking he had done, he says Pray, Mr Cunningham, stay, I hadn't done, then he said, And I leave my blessing to my Brother, his Lady and to all their Children, and recommend my spirit to my God; after he called for me and gave me his blessing and spoke some things none of us could understand. I thought he said I forgive everybody I wish everybody may forgive me; about a quarter of an hour thereafter he said distinctly, Lord have mercy on my poor Countrey that is so barbarously oppressed. Since that time he has spoke little but called for some warm water, or to have himself turned, or for the bed pan; yesterday was the first day his distemper reached his head which made him rave frequently. He has suffered much uneasiness and pain with . . .[1] and firmness far beyond what c[ould be exp]ected from one in his Condition, he has these severall dayes look't death in the face with much intrepidity and talked about his dead linnings and every thing that's to be done to him with as much easiness and indifference as ever he talked about the publick news; he dropt some things which makes us believe he's perswaded that he has obtained mercy of God. I must say I always esteemed him highly but now I admire him, and should be more ambitious of his Constancy in going out of the world than the Reputation he had while he has been in it. If it had pleased God to allow him have come home I have reason to know that he would have lived with us all in the

[1] Paper torn in the original.

greatest love and affection imaginable which I am sure is the greatest . . .[1] freinds can have in this side of . . .[1]

Henry Fletcher to his brother

Tuesday 18 Sept.

By my son's letter which came on Saturday the 15th I received the melancholy news of your thinking yourself past recovery. Being now very desirous to see you if it were possible, I was resolved to part from this yesterday, but on Sunday night I fell suddenly ill of a pain in my head and back, with a gruzing, which continues still, so that I saw it was impossible for me to make out such a journey. It was a great comfort to us all to hear of the good disposition you are in, of patience and resignation to the will of God, which is the only thing that can give us perfect peace. I recommend you to the protection and mercy of Almighty; if it be his will to call you at this time, I pray earnestly that he may make the passage easy and guide you throw the dark vale. Adieu.

Henry Fletcher to his son

20 Sept. 1716

I have received yours of Thursday the 13th by which I perceive ther is no hopes of my brother's recovery; as hitherto you have been very carefull of him, so I doubt not but you will continue it to the last and make every thing as easy to him as possible. Let every thing he ordered be done punctually, and take Dr Arbuthnot's advice in distributing his charity and in every thing else as he has bidden you, and wait no further orders from me. My wife desires that if he has left his night-gown to any servant you may buy it back for her.

Henry Fletcher to his son

Thursday 20 Sept.

I received both yours of Saturday the 15th which bring the account of my brother's death; we could not but expect it, and yet it was as grivous as if we had been surprized with it. Blessed be God that we have such good ground to believe he is happy, our tears are now only for ourselves; nobody knows fully the advantage of a good friend till they want them. I thank you for the distinct and particular account of

[1] Paper torn in the original.

the last passages of his life, which I think you could not have done in that manner without having been truly touched yourself. You may look upon it as a singular good providence that you were cast into his company at this time, both to do him service, and yourself much more, by knowing him, and seeing so good ane example of dying well. . . .

Henry Fletcher to his son

20 Sept.

. . . I desire my brother's Body may be sent in a ship to Leith, for we design to lay it in Leith Church for a day or two till we appoint friends to meet and transport it to his burial place at Salton, therfor let me be advised whenever it is put aboard, or rather before, with what skipper it is to come, and the name of the ship that I may give orders to some at Leith to advertise me whenever that ship comes in sight, and you must oblige the skipper under a penalty (if it be practical) either to come into the harbour immediately or to stop in the road till the Corps be carried out, for many of them pretend to be bound for Leith and yet go to Borrowstounness and other ports first. . . .[1]

[1] Andrew Fletcher's body was duly brought back to Saltoun, and buried in the family vault under the parish church.

SIR JOHN CLERK'S OBSERVATIONS
on the present circumstances of Scotland, 1730

edited by T. C. Smout, PH D

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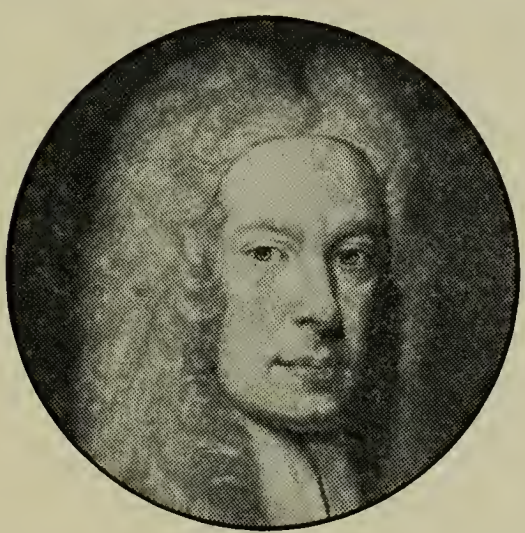

SIR JOHN CLERK'S OBSERVATIONS
on the present circumstances of Scotland, 1730

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INTRODUCTION. The manuscript printed here from the Clerk of Penicuik muniments at the Scottish Record Office, HM General Register House, Edinburgh, is a discussion of the background and consequences of the Union of Parliaments as seen one generation later by a leading figure in Scottish political and economic life. Sir John Clerk was to write in 1733, 'For near thirty years past I have some way or other been interested in the trade and manufactures of this country.'[1] The details of his career bear out the claim. Elected to the Scottish Parliament in 1702, he rose rapidly to prominence in the circle around Queensberry. In 1703 he became a commissioner to investigate the public accounts and in 1705 to scrutinise proposals for currency reform. In 1705 he also became a member of the reconstituted Council of Trade. The following year he was nominated a Commissioner for Union with the primary task of negotiating the financial clauses of the treaty, and in this sense was a direct architect of the situation he discusses. In 1707 he sat on a committee to review the Equivalent and to superintend its management, obtaining in the same year remunerative office as Baron of the Scottish Court of Exchequer which he filled with considerable vigour for the rest of his life. Finally, in 1717 he became a founder member of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, and to this most vital of Scottish economic committees he devoted himself with characteristic seriousness and energy. Certainly there was no one in Scotland who enjoyed a comparable inside knowledge of the financial and economic workings of Union at the time he wrote, but equally there were few who could have surpassed him in loyalty to

[1] SRO, Penicuik MSS. (GD 18), no. 5897.

the House of Hanover or in conviction of the rightness of the Union settlement. Both his unique knowledge and his frank Hanoverian bias must be borne in mind in assessing the historical value of the paper.

The 'Observations' take the common contemporary literary form of a 'letter to a friend'. It is possible there was a real figure in political life to whom the remarks were initially addressed, but it is clear the work was revised on several occasions: in Register House there are two full versions (MSS. 3141 and 3214), with fragments of a third, and in each there are marginal corrections by the author. Portions were used in a further paper entitled 'Some Observations on the Trade and Manufactures of Scotland in the year 1733' (MS. 5897), a longer, less well-constructed and in some ways less informative paper which was abandoned with lacunae and erasions. Sir John seems to have published nothing after 1706, and though the 1733 work was certainly intended for the public, one of its opening sentences—'I am sufficiently aware how little good most papers of this kind doe'—perhaps explains the fate of both papers. Nevertheless, the 'Observations' now printed did not go quite unnoticed: Thomas Somerville borrowed the manuscript along with others from Penicuik for his *History of Great Britain During the Reign of Queen Anne* (London, 1798) and considered them all of unusual merit.[1] The text printed here is that of MS. 3141,—with footnote references to significant deviations from MS. 3214, and to additional information where relevant in MS. 5897. Punctuation and capitals have been modernised, the spelling rendered unchanged.

The date of the 'Observations' can be confidently fixed as 1730. The opening sentence mentions the prospect of a lasting peace in Europe, probably a reference to the Treaty of Seville of November, 1729. Clerk refers to the period of 22 years which has passed since the Union of 1707,[2] and mentions as recent the King's speech in Parliament which produced a reduction of land-tax in 1730.[3] The title of the work has been taken from the cover of MS. 3214 which reads: 'Copy of a letter written by me (J. C.) containing some observations on the present circumstances of Scotland'.

The 'Observations' are in four sections. The first deals primarily with the economic situation on the eve of Union and with events leading to

[1] See J. M. Gray's introduction to *Memoirs of the life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik* (Scottish History Society, 1892), pp. xv-xvii. The *Memoirs*, of course, remained unpublished until this edition, but have since become Clerk's best-known work.

[2] See below, p. 199.

[3] See below, p. 211, n. 3.

the treaty. The second discusses the economic situation since 1707, the third deals with Scottish grievances arising from it, and the fourth proposes remedies for these grievances.

In dealing with the pre-Union situation, Sir John stresses first the illusory nature of Scottish Parliamentary freedom and the dependence of the government upon the English cabinet—'we were in the same or worse condition than Ireland'. His picture of Scottish trade before 1707 was equally pessimistic. The main export was wool, a commerce utterly harmful to the nation as it involved depriving industry of a basic raw material; linen came second, but poor quality in manufacture minimised its value; cattle was third (dependent on the goodwill of the English market) followed by fish (also damaged by neglect of quality) and worsted stockings (in decline due to the export of wool) with 'other less considerable exportations such as coal, lead, etc.' The list of commodity imports was headed by French wine, 'a most pernicious trade' since it served only to support luxury and drain the country of money, followed by silks, cloth, tobacco and sugar imported from England. There is no discussion here of Dutch or Baltic trade though he was to touch on both later. The general analysis is in line with that of Defoe and other pro-Union writers in 1705-7, but the historian may wonder whether wool and wine had quite the primary position assigned to them, or whether their importance had been magnified by the fierce contemporary debate on permitting or prohibiting trade in these commodities.[1] In other directions Sir John makes several interesting points: the shortage of specie is stressed again as an underlying weakness in the economy, the privileged manufactories of textiles are exposed as serving 'little other purpose than to cover importation of the same commodities from England', and the Darien Company is attacked by allegations of corruption as well as incompetence among those concerned. In this respect he was not merely being wise after the event; as early as 1702 he had remarked thankfully that he was not 'ane highflown East India goose'.[2]

In the making of Union, Sir John stressed three main motives which persuaded 'sober people' to join with England: the need for a peaceful Succession, together with the realisation that Scotland could not any longer hope 'to grow rich and powerful in a seperat state' and a feeling

[1] T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union* (1963), chaps. ix-xii.
[2] SRO, Penicuik MS. 3126.

that Scottish independence was largely illusory in any case. Nevertheless, the Treaty was passed, on Sir John's own admission, 'contrary to the inclinations of at least three-fourths of the kingdom', opposition coming from ardent Presbyterians, from Jacobites and from traders who dealt in wine and wool or who smuggled over the Border. He suggests that Unionists needed considerable moral courage to oppose the majority: certainly his own real reluctance to accept a Commissionership for the negotiations in 1706 on account of 'a great backwardness in the Parliament of Scotland for an union' was only overcome by Queensberry's threat to withdraw patronage.[1]

The second part of the 'Observations' surveys the Scottish economy after the Union. After a short boom, 1707–10, the overall gains seem to have been small. On the credit side, the price of cattle and the value of this export to England had 'increased considerably', bringing the rents of the cattle lands up with them. Industry had not done so well: linen had remained at the old levels, except where landowners had been active in stamping out the 'bad practises' of their tenants in manufacture, but he now had great hopes of the Board of Trustees; woollens were much as in 1707 despite the prohibition of wool exports, the making of serges having been extended, while the Aberdeenshire stocking trade was 'not so considerable as it formerly was' (this is the reverse of what is generally held to have been the effects of unrestricted English competition on the woollen industry). The tobacco trade had flourished between the west of Scotland and the Plantations but had now fallen back again due to the 'unfaire practises' of Scottish merchants (historians now point to a general recession in British trade, 1722–26, as a truer explanation of this pause in Glasgow's commercial expansion).[2] The fisheries remained much as they had been, though Sir John hoped (in vain as it turned out) for great results from the Board of Trustees' programme of encouragement; equally illusory were his hopes for the lead and iron mines of the York Buildings Company. As to imports, smuggled French wine remained in the author's opinion still the heaviest item, but Dutch and other foreign luxuries were equally prejudicial; the Baltic trade gets a brief but approving mention as being necessary for manu-

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 85.

[2] Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (1963) pp. 256 ff.

factories; imports of consumer goods from England are conveniently overlooked.

In his third section, Sir John deals with Scottish grievances over the Union, beginning with the loss of the Scottish Parliament: he concludes there was nothing lost here but a mere 'face of liberty', which had made Scotland 'either contemptible to the rest of Europe or as much unknown to them as if we had been situated at the extremity of the world'. It is clearly more honourable to be a partner in Great Britain. The grievance that Privy Council had been lost is upheld as legitimate, in view of the need to supervise the inefficient justices of the peace and the distance of Scotland from the seat of government in London. A third complaint, that the nobility had been degraded by having no automatic right to sit in the Lords, is touched upon but not discussed.

The next complaints were economic. That new commercial regulations had obliged many merchants to turn smugglers and had deprived wool-masters of half the value of their lands are not disputed as facts, but are dismissed as irresponsible grievances on the grounds that the laws were good ones and passed for the benefit of the whole nation. The scarcity of money is also admitted, but Sir John points out this is a very old grievance not brought on by Union alone: he attributes it to a persistently adverse balance of payments caused by the activities of smugglers to whom even Exchequer juries turn a blind eye, to the low level of native industries in the export field, and to absenteeism by Scottish landowners in London. Another factor in the short run is the rivalry between the Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank to corner each other's notes. The imposition of the Malt Tax and other heavy Excise dues he admits as a common grievance among many Scots, but argues that complaints against it were based on a misunderstanding: it was a necessary imposition in order to try to cover the costs of the Scottish establishment and, far from Scotland having been bled white to support government in England, there had for many years been a flow of money into Scotland from taxation raised south of the Border. Recent research suggests that 'for fifty years after the Union about fifteen to twenty per cent (but very rarely any more) of revenue raised in Scotland went south'.[1] To what extent

[1] R. H. Campbell, 'The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707, ii: the economic consequences', in *Economic History Review*, xvi (1964), pp. 468-77.

this may have been counterbalanced, as Sir John claimed, by money remitted back to Scotland from the English government for defence and other purposes is at present unknown.

The last complaint, that great inconvenience was being caused to all parties by the volume of Scottish appeals before the Lords, was admitted.

The remedies proposed by Sir John were not very original: he advocated a revival of a Scottish judicature to check the abuses of the J.P.s, that the King intervene in the dispute over Scottish peers in Westminster, and that writs of error be allowed in Scotland to ease pressure on the Lords. Otherwise he believed everything could be cured by stricter execution of the British commercial laws, and by greater patriotism and economy at home: smuggling he saw perhaps as the greatest single economic evil. If the economic consequences of the Union had been disappointing, he concluded, it was due entirely to the Scots themselves: 'considering our mismanagements, 'tis a very great wonder that we are not in a very much worse condition'.

One outstanding character of the tract is its evident honesty: the author speaks as an Establishment figure, but he speaks sincerely and speaks what he believes to be the truth. Secondly, it is essentially a defensive work, answering the unspoken criticism that the Union has been a disaster for Scotland, by saying that things have not really got worse but have remained on balance very much the same. In this he carries conviction—much more so than some later historians who have argued for serious deterioration after the Union. Equally, of course, it is telling that even such an ardent pro-Unionist could not argue that the treaty had brought substantial material gain by 1730. There was obviously more to this failure than 'mismanagements'—it is a weakness in Sir John's case that he did not directly consider the impact of English competition on Scottish industry, or the near-stagnation of the all-important agricultural sector of the economy. Nevertheless it is fitting to remember that when Scotland did eventually resume her advance to prosperity it was aided in no small measure by the efforts of a number of public-spirited lairds of the same stamp as Sir John Clerk of Penicuik himself.[1] T. C. S.

[1] Since this document was prepared for publication, Dr P. J. W. Riley has provided additional information on several topics touched on here in his *The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-27* (London, 1964).

Sr,

Since you are pleased to acquaint me that all Europe has now the prospect of a lasting peace,[1] and that the trade and navigation of Great Britain may be made more extensive than ever if care was taken to have all the parts of the United Kingdom improven to the greatest advantage and such manufactures encouradged as might best suit the genius and circumstances of the people, I therefor thinke it my duty to lay before you several things with regard to Scotland in the following methode.

1. I shall acquaint you with our circumstances before our Union with England.
2. I shall give you an account of the present situation of our affaires since the year 1707 at which time the aforesaid Union of the tuo kingdoms took place.
3. I shall lay before you both our real and imaginary grievances.
4. I shall point at some remedies which may contribute at last to make us a contented as well as a happie people.

As to our circumstances before the Union in 1707 I must say in general that unless they be pretty well understood it will be impossible for you or any man to form a right notion of our present situation. I shall therefore briefly touch them under these heads. Our Government in Church and State, our trade, navigation and manufactories.

As to our Government in Church affaires, if I may believe that the generality of the people were Presbyterians noe doubt since the late Revolution they had the Government of the Church settled to their mindes; only as in all ages and amongst all kinds of people there have been some mutineers, so there were some here in whose principals sometimes roguery and selfish designs, sometimes weakness and simplicity had the greatest share. As for the rest of our people, some affected the old Episcopal way and others were perfectly indifferent provided Churchmen and their followers could have agreed amongst themselves. I shall only add on this head that the Presbyterian party

[1] This is probably a reference to the Treaty of Seville, signed in November 1729 between Great Britain, Spain, France and the Netherlands and one of the major achievements of Walpole's pacific policy. The first page of the MS. bears a note: 'Copied by my chaplain Mr Ainsley. No. 81.'

lived always in fears of former misfortunes and that instability which often affects us, and on the other hand the Episcopal party was not so much disjected or discouraged as not to hope for better times as their State projects took place. One thing they seem'd generally to agree in — to wit, to leave the old Scotch Episcopal manner of worship and fall in with the Church of England from whom they expected the greatest support, but unluckily for them they united in sacred rites yet they separated from that Church in their duty and alledgance to one and the same Soveraign.

As to our Civil Government, not to goe further back than the periode I have mentioned, it was an entire state of dependance on the Councils of England. We had frequent sessions of Parliament, a constant Privie Council, a Treasury and Exchequer, but all these subservient to such administratiors as the chief ministers in England thought fit to recommend to the Soveraign. Our Commissioners for holding the aforesaid sessions of Parliament had always their instructions from the Cabinet Council of England and never gave the royal assent to any one act till the same was layd before their constituents at Court, and in a word we were in the same or a worse condition than Ireland. The grand bussiness of a session of Parliament was generally very triffling—to wit, to get six or eight moneths cess (that is £36,000 or £48,000)[1] for maintaining an handfull of troops amongst us, a feu laus afterwards folloued which were called good because supposed to be so, and all this under a strict observation of most august formes such as the Rideing of the Parliament, the pomp which always attended the High Commissionar and other well known ceremonies.

The Privy Council of Scotland was sometimes arbitrary in their proceedings yet was such as contributed very much to keep up the face of government and preserve the peace of the country.

The Treasury was under the direction of those who had the chief authority in their hands and were often men of that capacity that it was a pity they had noe more to manadge than what the revenue of Scotland produced.

As to the Exchequer, it was a court generally composed of some who were of the Treasury and the Privy Council but as their business

[1] One month's cess was equal to £6,000 sterling, and the taxation was raised when Parliament made a periodic grant of so many months' cess: eight months was a higher rate than normal before the Union.

lay in a very narrow sphere I shall not trouble you with any further account about them[1].

As to our trade, please to take the following account of it in all its principal branches of exportation and importation.

The first and most considerable branch of our exportation was our wool, the bare mention of which gives me noe small pain since it was a very great reproach to our country: for tho' the woolmasters got a considerable price for the stone of it (viz. from eight to twelve shillings or more)[2] yet they exported as it were the bread of the poor, and left little or nothing to be manufactured in the country. The merchants, who seldom or never carry their thoughts beyond their own privat interests, encouraged this exportation as much as they could, and the woolmasters never were at the pains to reflect that a stone of wool manufactured in any kind of stuffs fit for exportation would produce at least three times its current price to the country, besides giveing work and subsistence to our poor people. However, I must doe justice to those who lived on the other side of Tay for they always opposed this pernicious trade, particularly such who lived in the shire of Aberdeen and other adjacent places, for as they were and are still are a very virtuous and industrious people it very much discouraged there manufactories of stockings and other things which they exported into foreign parts with very considerable profits. All this was fairly layd before the Parliament of Scotland in the year 1703, and particularly by an eminent gentleman Mr Fletcher of Saltoun as we may observe in his printed speeches,[3] whereupon a very just act passed dischargeing the exportation of our wool.[4] This as it did a very great service to Scotland so it was noe small advantage to England,

[1] Clerk and Baron Scrope wrote a *Historical View of the Forms and Powers of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland* in 1726, which was printed in 1820 by the Barons of Exchequer and edited by H. Jardine. The main duties of the Court after the Union were in cases of tax-evasion and in administration of the Forfeited Estates.

[2] Anon., *A Short proposal anent the Export of Wool* (1704), suggests the average price at which Scottish wool was sold for export was not more than 4s. to 6s. 7d. per stone, and English wool exported through Scotland 9s. to 10s. per stone.

[3] Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, *Political Works* (1749), p. 255. It is striking how frequently Clerk cites Fletcher's works: no doubt it was effective to answer the anti-Unionists from the mouth of the arch-opponent of incorporating Union, but Clerk also seems to have had a genuine affection for him—'a very honest man, and meant well in everything he said and did, except in cases where his humure, passion or prejudices were suffered to get the better of his reasone' (*Memoirs*, p. 49).

[4] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, x, 227. The act was in 1701, not 1703.

for before this time great quantities of wool from the northern parts of that country were exported into Scotland and carried abroad with our own. After the aforesaid act passed we then began to thinke of improveing our woolen manufactures, but our wool falling to a very low price and discontents happening between us and the English on account of the discouragements we had met with in our Affrican and Indian trade, we resolved to gale them by again giveing way to the exportation of our wool so that in 1705 a neu act[1] passed repealing the former and encourageing the old pernicious exportation.

The next considerable branch of our exportation was our linnen cloths. This was indeed a beneficial trade, but in a litle time came to be manadged with so much fraud in the way of spining the yarn, weaving, whitening and manner of selling the cloth, that the giveing an account of it wou'd be as irksom to you as it would be grievous to me;[2] in short this kind of manufacture fell into so much discredite that the merchants of England with whom we chiefly dealt either gave over all trade with us in this commodity or manadged it with so much distrust on their parts that we began to reap litle or noe advantage by it. Meer necessity afterwards brought the Irish into this kind of trade and they have manadged it so as to be able not only to serve themselves but to make great returns by it from foreign countries.

Another considerable branch of our exportations was our black cattle sent into England.[3] This proved likeways a very beneficial trade to us, for thereby not only some of our southern counties but all the north and especially the Highlands reaped great advantages by returns, for the most part in specie. However, this being only precarious and depending in the will of England, it came entirely to be prohibited by an act which passed in the Parliament of England anno 1705.[4]

[1] Ibid., xi, 190. This act was dated 1704, not 1705.

[2] MS. 5897 adds here, 'Nothing was more common than for linnen to be brought to the merchat daubed with lime and so rotten that it could scarcely endure one washing'. There are many contemporary complaints of the same thing.

[3] MS. 5897 valued these exports at 'a som not under £80,000 sterling yearly'—or £960,000 Scots. This would seem a gross exaggeration, since the English customs valued Scottish cattle between 1697 and 1703 on average at about £466,000 Scots per annum with numbers varying from 60,000 to 11,000 but averaging nearly 30,000.

[4] 3 and 4 Anne, c.6. Clerk is not right in saying this legislation (the Aliens Act) prohibited the export of cattle—it threatened to do so unless the Scots entered into negotiations for Union. At the same time there are no signs that any Scottish beasts

The product of our fisheries, such as herring, salmon and white fish, was a treasure which might have been the fund of a very great trade, but these were managed in so bad a way, particularly our herrings, that such a discredit was brought upon them in foreign mercats as will not be easie for us to retrieve. Many good laws were made for the packing and curing of fish but still the merchants, haveing an eye chiefly to their privat advantages, neglected not only all the methods which the Dutch took in carrying on this trade but in their practise set aside for the most part those rules and regulations which our laus prescribed, and which if they had been duely observed might have given bread and employment to the whole nation.[1]

Another considerable branch of our exportations was worsted stockines from the shire of Aberdeen and some neighbouring places. The virtuous inhabitants there brought these commodities to a very great height, but not haveing a sufficiency of wool amongst themselves that trade laboured under great discouragements by the exportation of wool in our southeren shires and its extravagant prices as is before mentioned.

We had other less considerable exportations, such as coal, lead, skins, etc., but I only name them, for the first tuo being only casual and temporary cannot be reckoned on as any fund of trade.

As to our importations, they consisted of money, wine from France, Dutch goods, lintseed, hemp and flax, cloaths and silks from England, with other things necessary for the country.

As to the money or forreign coine imported, it appeared at the recoinage of our specie in 1707 and 1708 to be noe great sum, and from the records of the Mint of Scotland since the Restoration of King Charles the Second in the year 1660 it was evident that our oun species (particularly in 20 and 40 shilling pieces and in crowns) came to a greater sum than all the coin which had been imported beyond seas.[2]

passed the Border after 1703, for reasons which have hitherto not been explained. (Public Record Office, London, Customs 3, 1-9.)

[1] MS. 5897 stresses the loss of the French market through import prohibitions after 1689 as another factor in the decline of the fisheries.

[2] MS. 5897 gives the additional information that the foreign money imported was mainly Spanish silver, with some coins from Holland and Germany gained by the sale of wool and of Scottish money 'of greater value in proportion to their weight than the forcign species'. It also adds that since 1686 £2,200,000 Scots had been coined in £3, £2, £1, 10s. and 5s. Scots pieces. On the recoinage after the Union Scottish silver worth £239,000 was called in, plus foreign silver amounting to £132,000.

This hapened from a scandalous trade that had been carried on of exporting our oun species and exchangeing it for foreign money or, which was worse, by importing the value of it in materials for luxury. Thus we imposed on ourselves by appearing to have what we had not, for we never dreamed but that we had all our oun species besides the foreign species till the contrary appeared on the tryal by the recoinage. I shall only farther add on this head that before the Union in the years 1703, 1704, 1705 this country was in greater distress for want of money than it has been even for these many years bypast,[1] and the popular cry was so great that the Parliament gave way to several projectors to make proposals for supplying the defects of money. They likeways appointed a Comitee of their own number to receive these proposals and report them to the house. Accordingly the late famous Mr John Law, Doctor Chamberlain and one Armour from Glasgow made several proposals, such as a land bank and other expedients for supplying the defects of money. These were represented by the Comitee to be chimerical and dangerous experiments and therefor the Parliament did not think fit to receive them.[2]

The next and greatest branch of our importations was wine and brandy from France.[3] This was then as it is still a most pernicious trade, because founded chiefly on the price of the wool and skins which we exported into France, so that it may be said we exported the substance of our country and subsistance of the poor for a sorry liquor which nature never intended for us; yet by this practise there was some small appearance of trade and shipping at our ports and some of the merchants who traded in this way greu rich; but all this fine appearance was at the expence of their country and served only to shou that some merchants gained and greu rich when their country declined, and consequently that there was a necessity for the interposition of the

[1] 1704 in particular was a famous depression year—'one of the least years of trade that has been in this age', when the temporary closure of the Bank of Scotland 'occasioned ane entire surcease of the circulation of mony or even so much as credit for a great while' ([David Black], *Essay upon Industry and Trade* (1706), p. 215; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, xi, app. p. 126).

[2] The most authoritative account of these schemes is J. K. Horsefield, *British Monetary Experiments, 1640-1710* (1960).

[3] MS. 5897 adds 'I have heard that our importation of wine at that time extended to about 700 tuns and French brandy was much in the same request'. If this is correct, the quantity of wine was only just over half what it had been in the late 1680s. See also Smout, *Scottish Trade*, pp. 170-1.

Legislature to ballance our exportations and returns and to encourage only such branches of trade as might be for the advantage of our manufactories.

As to our importations of silks and cloaths from England, these went on much on the same manner they doe now, tho' at that time they stood prohibited for the advantage of a feu manufactories of our own which, by the bye, served for little other purpose than to cover importations of the same commodities from England.[1] Here by our laus as they then stood was a manifect injustice done to our neighbours of England, for tho' they allowed the importations of our cattle of all kinds yet we discharged the importations of their cloaths and silks—but they overlook'd this injury because it had only the appearance of such, when as much of their cloaths and silks was still imported by us as our necessities called for and as if there had been noe laws in force against them.[2]

We had other dealings with England of noe small value, such as for tobaccoes and sugars for our inland consumpt, and these yielded some small advantages to the merchants who dealt in them but nothing to this country, for at that time we were not alloued to trade to the English plantations in America and consequently dealt only at second or third hands.[3]

I shall in the last place take notice of our tradeing Company to Africa and the Indies according to a charture that had been procured from King William, anno 1696.[4] This company hapened to be established as the Ostend Company is at this day.[5] Some projecting

[1] For a summary of the textile manufactories and the commercial regulations in their favour see W. R. Scott, *The Constitution of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720* (1911), iii, 138-62.

[2] The English statistics of the exports of textiles to Scotland in the face of the prohibitory Scottish legislation of 1701 fully bear this out (P.R.O. Customs 3,1-9).

[3] MS. 5897 adds that attempts in Parliament to prohibit tobacco imports were frustrated by Glasgow merchants who complained of the prejudice they would suffer in their trades to Whitehaven, Bristol and Liverpool.

[4] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix, 377-81.

[5] The Ostend Company was incorporated under the Emperor's charter in 1722 as a company trading to the East Indies: it immediately attracted British investors, merchants and skippers who wished to evade the monopoly of the British East India Company and interlope on Anglo-Indian trade. Despite punitive legislation against British shareholders, it continued as an irritant until the Treaty of Seville in 1729 arranged to wind it up. A Scot, John Ker of Kersland, was one of the moving spirits, just as Colin Campbell was one of the main founders of the rather similar contemporary Swedish East India Company.

people, it seems, intended to make a benefit of it to themselves under pretence of advanceing the trade and interest of their country, for they were either so short sighted or so obstinatly set on their privat advantages that they did not discover how improbable the success of such a scheme was. This much was indeed certain—that some were to get considerable profits by being the authors and projectors of this company, some were to have the management of the stock, some were to get into considerable posts under the company (viz. to be governours of forts and colonies, masters of ships, captains of land forces, pursers, factors and agents for the company), some were to buy and furnish provisions for it, and in a word a great many were to gain by it tho' their country was certainly to lose in the event. But the wiser projectors of this affaire cou'd not but see, first, that it wou'd be absolutely against the interest of England if African or Indian goods were imported free or at very lou duties into Scotland because it would require an army of men to stope their importations in a clandestine way by land into England; secondly that it was absolutly against the interest of England to suffer Scotland to grou rich in a seperat state because it was more than probable that this increase of wealth would sometime or other be made use of to the prejudice of England (long animosities between the tuo nations made this so very probable that it had been perfectly chymerical to have thought otherways); thirdly, these projectors cou'd not but knou that it was the easiest thing in nature for the English at any time to ruine our trade, so soon as they thought we were in a faire way of makeing any advances to pouer either by sea or land, consequently that the whole projected trade was to the last degree precarious; fourthly, they could not but knou the unhealthful situations of Darien and some other places on which they had their eyes in the West Indies; and lastly, they cou'd not but knou that the King of Spain wou'd lay claim to them as countries discovered by his predecessors at the expence of much blood and treasure, and which had been in their possession for a long tract of time under the administration of a governour and other officers. In a word they cou'd not but foresee that if we wou'd take and keep possession of any countries or colonies abroad then it must be at our oun risque without any assistance from England. Thus matters stood at the first setlment of this company and the event ansuered the rashness and folly of the undertakeing. We setled at Darien, a province in the West Indies

which the Spaniards said belong'd to them and at last made their pretensions good by force of arms. The English were so fare from assisting us that they did all in their pouer to ruine us, and (which was worse) our own country people who were employed in furnishing provisions for our shipping went about it in so fraudulent a manner that our colony might be said rather to have been subdued by hunger and want of all kind of necessaries than by the pouer of the Spanish armes.[1]

In these circumstances we were at the time of the Union. In short, we drove a most pernicious trade abroad in all its branches and at home we had the misfortune to neglect our manufactories and to aim at very feu things that were for the advantage of our country. The most beneficial branch of all our exportations being that of black cattle into England stood prohibited and we had lost much blood and treasure in the prosecution of our African and Indian Schemes.

Sober people were, houever, content to sit doun under all these losses and misfortunes and in a kind of glade poverty live on what remain'd. But here a melancholy scene presented itself, for so long as the Succession to the Croun of Great Britain remain'd unsettled and that Her Majesty Queen Anne was not likely to live long, many in Scotland expected such a scene of misfortunes as had been felt dureing the Civil Wars in the reign of King Charles the First and in the end that the whole country would fall under the Dominion of England by right of conquest. The Union of the tuo Kingdoms was then thought of as the best expedient to preserve the honour and liberties of Scotland and likeways the peace of the whole island, for as the councils of Britain wou'd then be united, the Succession wou'd naturally devolve on one and the same person[2]. This was the principal motive both in Scotland and England for bringing about the Union.[3] There were

[1] Most modern accounts of the Darien scheme, e.g., G. P. Insh, *The Company of Scotland* (1932), agree with this interpretation: Clerk's accusations of dishonesty among some of the projectors do not appear to have been discussed by historians.

[2] The whole question had been raised by the Act of Security and Succession that passed the Scottish Parliament in 1703, threatening to break the Union of the Crowns on the death of Queen Anne unless Scotland obtained a more real measure of control over her own government (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, xi, 136).

[3] The parallel passage in MS. 5897 runs: 'there were two motives which contributed not a little thereto, the first and chief was the setlement of the Protestant succession in the illustrious House of Hanover, and the other that utter impossibility that appeared for Scotland ever to succeed in trade and navigation under the protection of one and the same Sovereign with England unless both their interests were unseparably united'.

indeed other reasons which had great influence with many of this country, such as the prohibition of our black cattle in England, a general mismanagement and decay of trade, want of money to engadge in other projects and an inability for enlarging our trade or improving our manufactories, and (which was worse) a moral certainty that England wou'd never allow us to grou rich and pouerfull in a separat state. It was likeways a very strong motive for some to favour the scheme of Union when they considered what had been more than once complained of in our Parliaments—to wit, that we were in a state of absolute bondage to England, tho' under the appearance of national liberty supported by our oun Parliaments and Privy Councils. I may add to these that since a feu years before, to wit at the time of the Convention of the Estates of Scotland in 1689, a letter had been written to King William by the unanimous consent of all our representatives desireing His Majesty to use his interest that both nations might be united together under the direction of one and the same Parliament,[1] and since the Parliament in 1703 had been called expresly by Queen Anne for considering on ways and means to establish the so much desired Union, I say on these accounts and motives many came into the schem of the Union as the only expedient that cou'd most conduce to the welfare of their country.

I need not acquaint you hou the treaty was managed in England, nor hou the Union was caried on in the Parliament of Scotland, for you knou most of the steps that were taken and you cannot but knou likeways that the Articles were confirmed in the Parliament of Scotland contrary to the inclinations of at least three-fourths of the Kingdom.[2] All this was very discouragcing to those who fancied they were doeing their country the greatest service by promoting the Union, and noe doubt the whole schem had been dropt if it had not plainly appeared that the true interest of Scotland bore the least share in the councils and deliberations of those who opposed the Union. For instance, the Presbyterians were affray'd of falling under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of England who were to have so great a share of the Legislature of Great Britain, and so were averse to the

[1] The contemporary record merely states that the decision to ask the king to appoint Commissioners was 'carried in the affirmative' (*Proceedings of the Estates in Scotland, 1689-90*, Scottish History Society, 1954, i, 50).

[2] Cf. *Memoirs*, p. 64: 'the bulk of the nation seem'd altogether averse to them.'

Union—for tho' the setlement of the Presbyterian Government in Scotland was to be one of the chief articles yet many good men were in fears that this setlement wou'd remain still precarious. Next, those who favoured Episcopacy were dissatisfied when the setlement of an opposit Church Government was to have so large a share in the schem of the Union. In the next place, those who favoured the succession of the late King James cou'd never be induced to wish well to such a coalition of the tuo kingdoms as wou'd exclude their hopes for ever. Therefor several emisaries from France such as Colonel Hooke and Captain Straiton were at that time employed by all means possible either to raise a rebellion amongst us in favours of King James or at least to prevent the setlement of the protestant succession as the basis of the Union.[1] Next it was evident that from principals of self interest some opposed the Union, to wit all those who were concerned in the selling and exporting of wool into foreign parts since this injurious trade wou'd fall under the same regulations and prohibitions as in England, likeways all those who made advantage of unlauful importations from England into Scotland because after the Union was to take effect trade wou'd be free and open between the tuo nations. Likeways, such who dealt in foreign importations cou'd not but be affray'd of the Union because all such wou'd be subjected to the same burdens, regulations and restrictions as in England. These reasons for opposeing the Union were so obvious, and at the same time the pouer and interest of the opposers over the rest of the people was so well knoun, that the Parliament had very litle regard to the remonstrances that were made by several shires in Scotland against the Articles.[2] In short, all the friends of the Union were so much persuaded in their consciences that they were acting for the interest of their Country that they thought it as cowardly and unlauful for them to desert the measures they had engadged in as for men of virtue and honour to desert the lauful defence of their habitations when attacked by their enemies; what tho' they observed that the Union was disagreeable to the generality of the people yet because they kneu the reasons from whence this disgust proceeded, they had very good grounds to hope that a litle time would discover to some their mistakes, and to others that a

[1] See also *Memoirs*, pp. 64-5. The Jacobites named were sent by Louis XIV early in 1707 to report on the state of opinion in Scotland, and Hooke's alluring report led to the abortive French expeditionary force of 1708.

[2] Petitions against the Union are printed in Defoe, *History of the Union*.

more candid behaviour wou'd be necessary for advanceing the true interest of their country. Thus the Union took place in 1707, and tho' those who brought it about look'd upon it as the best and only expedient that cou'd be thought of for advanceing the wealth and pouer of Great Britain, they considered it in the same light with the state of marriage which, tho' it be the best of all human institutions, yet that it proves happy or unhappy according to the wills, affections and behaviour of the persons united together in this state.

I come nou (in the order I proposed) to acquaint you with the circumstances of this country since the year 1707, at which time the Union of the tuo kingdoms took place.

We found ourselves under the most flourishing appearances for the first three years that could possibly be in any country, for before the Union commenced on the first of May 1707 there were very great importations from abroad of all kinds of commodities in order to be free of the duties which were immediately to take place, and that the importers might have the benefit of spreading these commodities over the whole island at as high rates as if the duties had really been pay'd. This unjust gain and expectation was indeed a litle mar'd by what happened to be done afterwards in the Parliament of Great Britain, yet a good dale of these commodities were carried into England, and Scotland chanced to be plentifully stocked with all kinds of goods at a very cheap rate for two or three years after.[1] Next the sum of £398,000 sterling was (according to agreement by the 15th Article of the Treaty of Union) faithfully remitted to Scotland, whereby many of the publick debts were payed and the people of this country got a stock of mony put in their hands in order to enable them to carry on their trade and manufactures.[2]

After this followed the reduction of our coyne to the value and

[1] Between the passing of Union in February 1707 and its formal ratification in May, English and Scottish merchants had imported large quantities of merchandise into Scotland in order to benefit from the customs differential: in June 1707, forty vessels from Scotland laden with wine and brandy were temporarily impounded by the English customs officials in the Thames pending a decision by the British Parliament. The House of Commons eventually dismissed the prosecutions against the Scots. (Defoe, *History of the Union*, pp. 567-73.)

[2] Clerk was appointed one of the Commissioners for managing the Equivalent, which was mainly disposed of in paying the public debts of the Scottish crown and in compensating the Darien Company stockholders for their losses: the residue formed part of the initial capital of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures founded in 1727.

standart of England by which means we became considerable gainers, for the loss in the recoinage was not only made up but we saved seven per cent on all our species, for so much it was current amongst us above the intrinsick value.[1]

Here I might likeways mention several great sums remitted to the people of Scotland on several occasions, as for instance, the value of the stock of salt in hand, and several other sums which are knoun to some particular persons; but all this seem'd to be put in the hands of novices in all kinds of bussiness and therefore came to litle or noe account, as will appear hereafter.

As to our trade immediately after the Union it stood thus as it still does. The importatione of our black catle to England increased considerably, as did likeways their prices and by consequence the value of these lands which produced them; but the people of England found noe less their advantage in all this than we did, because it appeared that our black catle and even our sheep were aboundantly fed on the refuse of their pastures.[2]

Our linnen manufactures were improven in proportion to the care that was taken of them. The justices of peace and other gentlmen in the several counties where these manufactures are most in use began to consider at last that it was their interest not to protect their tennants and coaters in the bad practises which formerly took place in the working and whitening our linen cloths. But what begins nou to give them the greatest credite is a late appointment by His Majesty of some

[1] At the time of the Union of the Crowns the value of the Scottish pound unit had been officially fixed at one twelfth of the English pound; at the same time the bullion content of the Scottish coinage had been fixed so that coins worth twelve Scottish pounds contained exactly the same amount of silver or gold in mint condition as coins worth one English pound. However, in the course of the seventeenth century, and in particular after an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1686, the bullion content of Scottish coins had become slightly reduced, but without a corresponding change in the official value of the Scottish pound relative to the English pound. By 1707; Scottish coins in mint condition contained only one thirteenth of the gold and silver in their English equivalents. The recoinage after the Union was said to add about '7 per cent on all our Specie' because twelve Scottish pounds were accepted for one English pound, though according to bullion content thirteen Scottish pounds would have been needed to realise the equivalent of the bullion in one English pound.

[2] Clerk in MS. 5897 states that in 1733 it was sometimes thought that 80-100,000 beasts were driven annually to England, but the author supposes the figure to be 60,000, valued at one-third higher prices than twenty years ago, worth £100,000 sterling annually. Cf. above, p. 186.

Trustees[1] who without fea or rewards, and with a regard only to the interest of their country, make it their bussiness to put the several good laus we have in execution against all transgressors. 'Tis from the care of these gentlemen that we expect very great advantages in this trade, especially when it seems to be what the genius of our country people is most inclinable to promot. We begin nou to export considerable quantities of linen cloth, especially into England, and indeed it is happy for us that it is so, for without this trade and that aforementioned of our black catle we wou'd be in noe condition to live in this part of Britain, by reason of the vast sums which are drawn yearly out of this country for the support of our people who live in England, or for purchasing the commodities we want from that country.

As to our woolen manufactures, we are much in the same condition as at the time of the Union. Some cloaths are made here in several places, but it seems a standing rule amongst our country gentlemen that such who by the narouness of their fortunes ought most to make use of them are most averse to them, unless when it happens that they are sold for English cloaths or (to please them better) are sometimes actually sent into England and return'd again amongst other cloaths from that country. We manufacture likeways considerable parcels of serges, and these meet with some encouragement in our mercats because they generally make up a part of our habiliments which are least in viеu, otherways perhaps they wou'd be in the same discredit amongst us as with our broad cloaths.[2] We manufacture likeways great quantities of stockings in the shire of Aberdeen but this trade is not so considerable as it formerly was. In the meantime, since we are so happy as not to export our wool, it is hoped that in time we may be induced to make better use of it than formerly. But I shall again have occasion to talk of this hereafter.

[1] 'The Commissioners and Trustees for Improveing Fisherys and Manufactures in Scotland' were set up in 1727 by 13 Geo. 1 c. 26 and 13 Geo. 1 c. 30. Their successful work in encouraging the linen trade is discussed in Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 134 ff. Output rose from 2.2 million yards in 1728 to 4.3 million yards in 1732.

[2] Clerk's view of a coarse woollen cloth industry still reasonably widespread and flourishing finds support in H. Kalmeter's journal of his travels in Scotland (Royal Library of Stockholm MS.) listing cloth markets in 1720 at Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, Dunblane, Kilmarnock, Stirling, Lanark, Maybole, Dumfries and Thornhill and mentioning manufacture at Musselburgh and export to Sweden. Clearly there was a limit to the damage inflicted by English textile competiton after the Union.

Other branches of our exportations are tobaco from the West Indies. This happened for some years after the Union to be a considerable branch of trade, particularly at Glasgow and some of our western parts, but some unfaire practises appearing, it fell under discouragements and continues so; houever, it is hoped that it may again revive in proportion to the honesty and dilligence with which it shall be managed, for provided the duties be faithfully ansuered to the Croun it must, by the nature of the Union of the two Kingdoms, meet with the same encourgement here as in any place of England. I have heard it given out that the complaints against the merchants of Glasgow on the head of their managements in the tobaco trade was occasioned by the jealousies of some of the people who trade from the western ports of England. This may be partly true, but it is certain that there were too good grounds for what was advanced.[1]

Our salmon and herring fishings are much in the same state they were in at the time of the Union, yet there is this difference, that by the care of the Trustees for our fisheries and manufactories the credite of our herrings is somewhat better established, and it is hoped that by the assistance of England nou in a time of peace very considerable profits may be made.[2] We are generally fondest of what is least in our pouer, and so through manifold dangers and difficulties force a trade to Africa and the Indies, but when our fishings come to be considered in that light which De Wit and other great men in Holland held them they will be found a greater treasure than any other place of the world did ever produce to Great Britain.

We export likeways considerable quantities of corn by reasone that since the Union our lands are more improven, but I wou'd fain hope that in time there will be such an increase of manufactories amongst us and by consequence such an increase of people that there will be noe occasion for such exportation.[3]

[1] Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 256 ff., discusses the early history of the Glasgow tobacco trade with America, when imports rose from about 2½ million lb in 1715 to 6½ million in 1722, to fall back to less than 4 million lb in 1726, reviving to 7 million lb in 1729-30 and falling again to 4 million lb in 1731. He points out that despite the tightening of customs administration in 1722, which followed the complaints of English merchants undercut in the trade, these fluctuations 'must be related to fluctuations in the general level of economic activity'.

[2] These hopes were largely illusory. See Hamilton, op. cit., p. 112.

[3] For the considerable volume of corn exports after the Union, see G. Chalmers, *Caledonia* (Paisley edn., 1888), iii, 33. MS. 5897 speaks of fears of 'a surplussage of

As to those branches of our exportations before mentioned, such as lead, coal, etc., the first is vastly increased by neu discoveries of several mines and from the industrie of several persons, particularly those concerned in the York Building Company. We have reason to hope that considerable improvements may be made. We have nou several rich iron mines in vieu, and from some tryals that have been made of our Highland woods we have sufficient grounds to believe that as much timber of all kinds may be brought up on our barren mountains as may in time supply the want of timber from the Northeren Kingdoms.[1]

As to the exportation of coall, it lyes under some descouragements by reason of duties which effect it,[2] but I am very well satisfied that a century or tuo will consume all that lyes near our sea coast and that there will scarce remain such a quantity in any part of this country as will be necessary for inland consumpt. Thus haveing mentioned the principal branches of our exportations I come nou to speak of our importations.

The chief of these are French wines and brandies, but here a very black and scandalous scene will appear from the following considerations.

Firstly, a good dale of these liquores imported are really run, by which means the King is not only defrauded of his duties but the faire traders are undersold and ruined.

These liquors have been imported into this poor country with an incredible disadvantage, for in regard the French take litle or nothing from us by way of bartar. The species of our monie is carried out for purchasing these liquors, or which is the same thing, the price of our black catle, linnen cloath and other things is keept back and retained in London for paying the bills of our merchants at Burdeaux from

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victual' in 1733 and states also 'the greatest part of the barley in the Merse and other adjacent places' was carried into England via Berwick-on-Tweed.

[1] The economic activities of the corrupt and incompetent York Buildings Company, purchasers of many of the forfeited estates after 1715, aroused great hopes at the time. Their attempts to mine lead at Strontian and to exploit the Spey valley forests were particular causes of optimism but none of their schemes proved viable. See D. Murray, *The York Buildings Company* (Glasgow, 1883).

[2] The export of coal was subject to appreciably higher duties after 1707 than it had been before; coastwise movements of coal were also subject to duties after 1707 and this (a commoner cause of complaint) was not remedied until 1794.

whence these wines and brandies are generally brought. What the prime cost of such liquors are may be easily guess'd from the quantity imported, and I dare be positive that the real loss on the ballance of trade with France cannot be much under £30,000 yearly and consequently that in a tract of 22 years we have lost £660,000[1] of our monie. 'Tis to this cause only that we oue the scarcity of our monie or its not increasing in that proportion as it ought, for except a litle salmond I believe it will be difficult for our wine merchants to shoue that the French have for that time taken any of our commodities.

In the next place, this trade of French wines and brandies is founded on notorious perjury, for it is will knouen that since the Union when the high duties on these liquors took place the wines have been entered on the oaths of the importers as Spanish wines and have all payed the Spanish duties, and the brandies (as is before mentioned) were run without paying any duties at all. The case then is that the sober man, who like Timothy takes a glass of wine for his health's sake and many infirmities,[2] is siping in the fruits of notorious perjury, encouraging villany and a ruinous trade to his country. Ought he not rather to doe as David did when he longed to drinke of the waters of the Well of Bethlehem, when three men broke through the host of the Phylestines and brought it to him he refused to drink it but poured it out saying 'God forbid that I should doe this thing, shall I drinke the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy, for with the jeopardy of their lives they brought it' (Chron. II, Chapt. 17, v. 18, 19.). But to take a farther vieu of this matter in a religious way, can any thing be more monstrous that the using of this wine at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, for when the communicant is takeing upon him neu oaths and engadgments to God he is sealing his Covenant by the symbal of wine brought to him with the jeopardy of the souls of the importers. Hou fare ignorance may have excused the fault I cannot well say, but this I am certain of—that there are feu men in Scotland who knou any thing of publick bussiness but who have been sufficiently apprysed of this perfidious traffick. If we will have French wines the duties ought to be payed which are so reasonably imposed for preserving the ballance of our trade with France, and if we decline to

[1] MS. 3214 has a correction here: 'since the union in a tract of 25 years we have lost £750,000 of our money'. It was doubtless altered by the author at a later date.

[2] I Timothy, 5.23.

pay such high duties I believe you will be of opinion that we can be as well supplyed with wines from Spain, Portugal and Italy at much cheaper rates and without continuing the scandalous practise of perjury which is such a reproach to our country. I shall close this observation with giveing you a paragraph from a speech of the learned gentleman before mentioned, whereby you will understand hou this trade of wines stood even before the Union, for in his 16th Speech he has these words 'Shall we send them our wool and buy their wines and so obliedge them doubly for burdening and oppressing us in our Trade —I move that this Act for takeing off the prohibition of French Wines, as a design of the blackest nature, hurtful and ignominious to the Nation and highly reflecting on our Ministers and administration, may be throuen out.'[1]

Our other importations are for the most part as prejudicial to us as these of wines and brandies from France. I say for the most part only, because it must be acknouledged that some of them are for the benefit of our shiping or our manufactories. I shall here briefly enumerat the chief of both kinds. Our prejudicial importations are foreign spirits, linnen cloath, flanders laces, Indian and Persian commodities not imported by our own East Indian Company or discharged by law to by made use of, foreign soap, paper, starch, arms, Dutch ware, etc., with all other importations contrary to the form of the Act of the 12th King Charles entituled 'Act for encourageing Shipping and Navigation'.[2] These and many more are burdened with high duties in order to preserve the ballance of the British trade with foreign countries and to encourage our own manufactories, yet our merchants are so fare from followving the rules and regulations that are so just and necessary to us that they not only import such goods in great quantities but run most of them without payment of duties to the great damage of our manufactories, the oppressing and starveing the poor, and the ruine of the fair traders.

As to these importations which are necessary for our manufactories, such as lintseed, potashes, whale oile, etc., a litle of them goes a great way when these manufactories are under so much discouragement. We import likeways timber of all kinds, pitch and tarr, hemp and flax from Sweden, Denmark and the northeren parts of Germany: such are

[1] Fletcher, *Works* (1749), pp. 255-6.

[2] That is, the Navigation Act of 1660, 12 Charles II, c. 18.

fare from being useless importations as we are stated, but if our mountains were stored with woods and our valeys improven as they might be there wou'd be noe great occasion for them.

I come nou to state our complaints, and I shall mention them with as much fairness as if I were my self a real Grumbletonian, that is a persone wilfully ignorant in some things, obstinat in others and angry for one cause when secretly intending another.

Firstly, we complain of the loss of our Parliaments, for that these keept up the face of liberty and of Government amongst us. This loss is indeed considerable, but the question remains if we doe not gain more by the Union of our Legislature with that of England than if we had continued in a separat state. Noe doubt if the Heptarchy in England and the Kingdoms of the Scots and Picts had remain'd to this day, and that separat Parliaments had been keept in these several kingdoms, all parts of Britain had been in appearance under a very regular administration, and pouer and riches had been more equally diffused; but then other mischiefs, such as perpetual wars and animosities, had attended us and in short with all these splendid appearances we had been but a very contemptible people, a terror to ourselves, and a prey to all foreigners, for to talk of confederacies in this case had been a meer jest and contradictory to the ambitious and turbulent nature of mankind, particularly of islanders who have been often remarkable for inconstancy. It was a schem which for sometime mightily pleased the Greeks to be divided in many kingdoms, petty states and republicks, but it is very certain that if they had united amongst themselves under such a form of government as Britain nou enjoys, or as the cities and states of Peloponesus did afterwards in the days of Polybius, they had in all probability rendered themselves more considerable than even the Roman Empire. But I shall not take up your time with enlargeing on this subject, and therefor shall only remark that since the invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar it was the constant endeavour of all the greatest princes in this island to have all the different people in it united under one and the same government, and our neighbours of Europe were affrayed of nothing so much. Any person like you, so well aquainted with our history, will discover the truth of this and at the same time be of opinion that as an Union was neccssary to make us a pouerful and an happy people so it cou'd never be brought about with a continuation of separat Parliaments.

Some of us indeed complain that our Parliament was not in its full extent of members adjected to that of England, but others again thinke that the numbers of our representatives are sufficient considering the loss and expence that their absence for some time brings on this part of Britain. I my self thinke that it is more honourable for us to have a share in the Legislature as it nou stands with all the pouers and honnours that attend it than formerly when we were wrangling amongst ourselves and were either contemptible to the rest of Europe or as much unknown to them as if we had been situated at the extremity of the World. Our Parliaments (as I mentioned before) were chiefly called for procureing a little paltry sum of about £36,000 sterling for publick services, and in disputing about this trifle we generally spent more of our time and money than the sum was worth, but if you wou'd be informed more particularly from another hand what was the bussiness of our Parliaments before the Union, I shall give you the words of the aforementioned worthy gentlman, spoken in the face of the Parliament itself in his 12th Speech, which I shall transcribe: "Tis often said in this house that Parliaments and especially long sessions of Parliament are a heavy Tax and burden to this Nation. I suppose they mean as things are usually managed, otherways I should thinke it a great reflection on the wisdom of this Nation and a Maxim very pernicious to our Government, but indeed in the present state of things they are a very great burden to us, etc.'[1] Here the first words are very remarkable, that *it was often said in this house etc.* Such was the state of our Parliament after the Revolution, but I shall goe a step farther back and shoue you that under the reign of King James the First of Great Britain, King Charles the First and Second, when this nation flourished most in trade,[2] it was not thought very essential to the Government of this country that Parliaments should meet often, for in a tract of above 20 years, viz. from 1621 there was but one session of Parliament, to wit, that by King Charles the First in the year 1633, and after the Restoration of King Charles the Second in 1660 for a tract of near 24 years there were but seven sessions of Parliament,

[1] Fletcher, *Works* (1749), pp. 231-2.

[2] The view of the reigns of James VI, Charles I and Charles II as commercially prosperous has not been the popular view of the seventeenth century, but receives support from recent research: S. G. E. Lythe, *The Scottish Economy in its European Setting* (1960); T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union* (1963).

and some of these continued but for a very feu weeks or rather days. All this I confess is not much for the honour of these princes, but 'tis evident that either they or their ministers were so much affray'd of Parliaments that they invented tuo national meetings which they called Conventions of Estates, one in 1665 and another in 1667.[1] These, when they had burdened the country with some taxation for the King's use were discarded after a feu days sitting. I mention only these things to sheu you that since the Union of the Crouns under King James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England our Parliaments were not so very beneficial to this country as they are commonly believed to be by such as knou very litle of our publick affaires.

A second complaint is that by takeing away the Privy Council of Scotland there is very litle of Government to be seen amongst us.[2] This complaint I am affray'd is too well founded, for tho' the peace of the country be in the hands of certain justices of peace as in England, yet there are some shires in this country where they doe not meet at all, and there are others where I am affray'd they meet to oppress one another either as justices of the peace or as commissioners of supply. The adjusting of excise matters betueen the brewars and collectors, the several ways of uplifting the malt tax, the proportioning of the cess, the choiseing of collectors for the same and frequently the repairing of high-ways never fails of giveing occasion to hardships where there are men found who will exercise the same. Tho' the Privy Council was frequently arbitrary, and tho' there was noe necessity for a sett of men to be constituted under that name after the councils of Britain fell to be united in 1707, yet considering our distance from the seat of Government I cannot help thinkeing that it wou'd be of very great use both for preserveing the peace and ease of this country and the better collecting and inbringing His Majesties Revenue that some expedient was thought on for supplying this defect.

A third complaint is that our Peerage is so fare degraded since the Union, as that they have not the rights of common and ordinary subjects, for that every subject in His Majesties dominions who has merites and estate may be called to the House of Peers but that the Scots

[1] A further Convention, called like the two previous ones for the sole purpose of granting taxation, took place in 1678.

[2] The Scottish Privy Council was abolished on 1 May 1708: a loss resented by the nobility who had dominated it.

nobility cannot.[1] You knou what has been done in this matter and you cannot but knou likeways that it was generally believed at the time of the Union that tho' two-thirds of the Peers present in the Scottish Parliament consented to the 22 Articles of the Union which restricted their members, yet they hoped they had done nothing which cou'd exclude them from the common advantages of other subjects.

Fourth complaint is that heavy taxes in foreign commodities hath either cut off a good part of our trade or put us under a necessity to make clandestin importations without payment of duties. I am obliedged to mention this complaint to you tho' it be altogether unjust and without grounds, for as I say'd before, the several dutys which affect foreign goods (or the fare greatest part of them) are such as are absolutly necessary for preserving either the ballance of our trade or our manufactories. For instance, the aforesaid duties chargeable on French wines are such as are absolutly necessary for preserving the ballance of our trade with that nation, for as France takes very litle of our commodities so it is fit that by imposing of duties we should discourage the importation of too great quantities of their wines. Next as to the duties which affect foreign stuffs, linen, soap, paper, arms, etc., everybody may easily perceive that without these discouragements there wou'd be an end of all our manufactories which furnish so much bussiness to our ships and merchants and give food and rayment to so many of our poor; and as to duties which affect Indian, Persian and Turkish goods imported by foreign companies and societies of merchants it is but just that they should take place for the encouragement of our own tradeing societies in Great Britain. Upon the whole matter we ought to be so fare from expecting redress in these things that we should rather wish to have some of them put under greater burdens and restrictions; for instance, if we would desire to see our linen manufactories prosper such burdens and restrictions wou'd still be necessary, for if foreign linen can be imported at as cheap rates as we make ourselves that trade to which we seem to have the greatest genius and inclination will goe to ruine, notwith-

[1] In 1711, the Duke of Hamilton received the title of Duke of Brandon in the peerage of Great Britain, but was denied a seat in the House of Lords; this ruling became amplified so that no Scottish nobleman who received a British title gained any right to sit in the Lords until after its reversal in 1782.

standing all the paines we are takeing to preserve it. In fine, since there are many of our neighbours in Germany, Sweden and Denmark who can live better on 2d. a day than any of us in Britain can live on 6d., we must expect to be undersold and ruined in all these undertakeings if some farther provision is not made for us.

A fifth complaint is that since the Union some of the gentlemen who live in these shires which produce wool have lost the half of their estates and, to use their oun words, are in a manner forfeited.[1] Here is a complaint founded either on ignorance or obstinat self-interest without the least regard to the publick welfare: when we exported our wool into foreign parts and got great prices for it noe doubt these gentlmen were extreemly satisfied, tho' they cou'd not but knou that this was a practise which their wise and virtuous neighbours of England had always withstood. The great increas of riches and pouer in that country is oueing solely to their prohibiting under the greatest penalties the exportation of their wool, and the cheapness of it at home bringing their people under the necessity of manufacturing it into broad-cloaths and stuffs of several kinds fit for exportation. These gentlemen likeways cou'd not but knou that the exportation of their wool was very prejudicial to our northeren shires, and in short that it defeated every project we had of manufacturing our wool here and geting by it at least three times more when manufactured than by sending it abroad at the highest prices. This grievance you will be of opinion wants noe redress, but on the contrary that the laus which prohibit its exportation should be strictly put in execution.[2] Nor will these gentlmen ('tis hoped) repeat any more this imaginary grievance, since even before the Union this prohibition took place, but was (as I have before mentioned) taken off by the prevelancy of some selfish projects; therefore give me leave to transcribe another paragraph on this subject from the 16th Speech of aforenamed Mr Fletcher of Saltoun in the Parliament of Scotland before the Union: 'Tuo good Laus were made in the year 1700, one against the exportation of our Wool, the other against the importation of French wines, the first to give a being to a woolen manufactorie in this kingdom, the latter to

[1] MS. 5897 makes the additional point that Scottish fine wool had always had a sale, and only coarse tarred wool became a burden on the market; most production was, however, of coarse wool. See also Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii, 32.

[2] MS. 5897 states that some wool was still being smuggled out of Scotland.

vindicat our trade against the impositions of France. We have already rendered the one ineffectual to the ruine of our woolen manufacture, etc'.[1]

A sixth complaint runs on the scarsity of our money. This complaint is very general in Scotland, yet not a neu one but of a very old standing, as I have mentioned before. It is always in the mouthes of these who have very feu pretensions to money and in appearance is not so very well founded as it is generally thought, for here every thing gives a great price, catle of all kinds groue rather dearer than cheaper, victual sels well and the mercats are dear, yet I never heard of any but who get payment of their prices. These are the sure indications of money, for in these countries where there is litle or none, everything is cheap, which is an observation that will hold good all the world over. However, it is confess'd that we have not that quantity of species that we ought to have but this is oueing to the following causes. Firstly, our merchants generally drive a very prejudicial trade so that neither monie nor bullion can be expected from foreign parts, but on the contrary our money is exported for bringing home (as I have hinted before) such things that are not only consumed in luxury but are prejudicial to our manufactures and especially to the poor, who have noe encouragement to work. This madness seems to be countenanced by all ranks and degrees of people and especially those of the richer sort, but none give so great encouragement to all kind of prejudicial importation than those who serve as jurors in tryals before the Court of Exchequer.[2] These, if I may so express it, cut the throat of their countrey and by mistaken notions fancy they ought in all cases to encourage those who goe under the name of merchants. These men have brought incredible losses upon us, and by a kind of mercifull cruelty have multiplyed the transgressors so that at this time there is scarce such a thing as fair tradeing amongst us, nor indeed is there any possibility for a fair trader to get his bread if matters are alloued to goe on in the pernitious way they are in at present. For instance, hou can any merchant import French wines and brandies and pay these duties that are necessary for preserving the ballance of trade with France if the unfair trader either runs these liquors without

[1] Fletcher, *Works* (1749), p. 253.

[2] Penicuik MS. 2755 contains Clerk's addresses to Exchequer jurors involved in cases of customs seizures.

paying any duties at all, or suears at the importation that they are brought from Spain or Portugal in order to have them entered at the Spanish duties? Hou can our manufactories of linen, soap, etc., prosper when these commodities are run from foreign parts without payment of a duty? What prejudices must not our tradeing societies such as the East Indian and African Companies sustain when the commodities in which they trade are run by our smuglers and all their fraudulent practises are encouraged by our juries.

Ignorant people, 'tis true, take a liberty in these things because they see that there are none of these tradeing societies in Scotland, but they ought to knou that any Scotsman may if he pleases have what share in these societies he thinkes fit to buy, and this ought to be a setled maxim amongst us that by doing mischief to the merchants in England we doe mischief to our selves, for if the English prosper and encrease in trade and ritches we will have our share and on the other hand when they decline we will decline in proportion.

Another cause of our want of money is want of industry, and a certain backwardness to encouradge our oun manufactories. If the people of this country, and especially our gentry, wou'd encouradge our oun products and wear our manufactories we should very quickly see a great alteration in our circumstances. I knou it may be objected that if this method was strictly folloued it wou'd be an unfriendly behaviour towards England and interrup that communication of trade which is so necessary betueen the tuo countries. I ansuer that this way of satisfieing ourselves with our manufacturies wou'd rather be an advantage than a prejudice to England, for by encouradgeing our oun people at home we prevent their being a dead weight on England. What must become of the poor labourers and manufactorers here if they are not employed? Surely they must leave their country in shoales, and retire into England where the poor are already a sufficient burden. Hou will the English like to have 4 or 50,000 naked and half-starved workmen poured yearly in upon them, and where will the advantage of Britain be to have a third of the country throuen desolat—for this will be the case of we cannot find bussiness for our people at home?

A third cause of our want of money may be ascribed to many of this country who, without business either at Court or in the Parliament, live in London and drau off their rents for supporting them there.

If this way of liveing was general, all manner of improvements here would be neglected, and there wou'd scarce remain a sufficiency even of country folks to labour the ground. If the money raised from tennents is not spent here it is evident that they must at last want monie, and theire masters must be satisfied either to receive their rents in catle and victual or take their grounds into their oun hands. This misfortune was foreseen at the time of the Union but was litle regarded because it was a thing intirely depending on ourselves, for it was expected that nobody wou'd complain of any thing which was in their pouer always to remedy.

A fourth cause of our want of money is commonly ascribed to our tuo banks, for by mutual jeolosies and each of them labouring to engross the whole bussiness, they have depriv'd us of a considerable sum that was circulating in notes.[1] 'Tis a misfortune to this country that these tuo societies cannot be brought to agree amongst themselves, but this is not indeed the fault of both sides, for the Neu Bank was content to have agreed on any reasonable terms, but the Old Bank (as being the first projectors) took it very ill to be deprived of 30 or 40 per cent interest which they had often made of their money, and that others should set up for a share in the booty. Possibly there are other reasons which keept them from falling into this measure, but these are best knouen to themselves.

But I return to another complaint which is in relation to the Malt Tax.[2] This imposition has been of great use to such as are dissaffected to His Majesties Government or are angry at any of the Ministers of State, yet one wou'd thinke that it is noe great burden to affect a whole nation, when it seldom amounts to £20,000.[3] But whether burdens be real or imaginary the people ought to meet with relief, since very

[1] When the Royal Bank of Scotland was founded in 1727 it immediately 'purchased up all the notes of the Bank of Scotland that they could lay hands on, and made such a run upon this bank as reduced them to considerable difficulties' (J. Arnot, *History of Edinburgh* (1816), p. 411).

[2] The malt tax was first levied in Scotland in 1713, contrary to the provisions of Article XIV of the Act of Union which had forbidden such a levy until the War of the Spanish Succession was over. It was reimposed more effectively (amid widespread rioting in Scotland) in 1725.

[3] The yield of the malt tax in 1717-18 was less than £1,500; by 1724-5 its produce was negative. The reimposed tax in 1726-7 yielded £65,000, but only £24,000 in 1727-8 and £25,000 in 1728-9. (Campbell, in *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, xvi, 474; Hamilton, *Economic History*, p. 401).

often they have both the same effect as to the raiseing of discontents. You knou that tuo causes chiefly gave rise to this imposition. The first was a piece of justice and equity with regard to the people of England that since they were annually subjected to this duty, it was noe more than what might have been expected, that Scotland should bear its proportion. The other cause was that the funds for supporting His Majesties Government in Scotland might be a litle enlarged, because by several years experience it was found that all these funds were not sufficient to ansuer the aforesaid end. This I confess is not generally well understood here, but to run over the branches of our revenue, you knou that the customes, by the unfaire trade which is carried on here, are fallen so lou that they are scarce sufficient to defray the charge of management. The excise, Croun revenues and other small duties, tho' they generally exceed £60,000 yearly yet were scarce sufficient to pay the civil establishment, the charge of management and some corn, fish and flesh debentures on exportation.[1] Thus it hapened that noe more remained for the payment of our troops, guards and garrisons but our cess, which is sometimes £36,000 and never exceeds £48,000; yet you knou that sometimes a good dale more was necessary for supporting them. I may be told here by those who have litle or noe share of this money that the charges of management of several of the funds might be lessened: I shall not enter into a dispute on this head, only 'tis certain that these who get much spend much, and contribut much to the liveing of the poorer sort[2] and that all our taxations and a great deal more have been spent amongst us. I have knouen for several years that £50,000 more than the revenues of Scotland produced was bestoued for supporting of the government.[3] If we were to cast up our accounts with England a very great ballance wou'd be due by us, but this kind of exactness I hope will never take

[1] The figures printed by Hamilton, op. cit., p. 401, suggest that the normal yield of excise plus malt tax and other duties ran at over £60,000 from 1707 to 1725, and at about £87,000 from 1725 to 1730.

[2] This sentiment was a favourite one of Sir John's; cf. *Memoirs*, p. 225: 'The poor must always live by the prodigality and extravagance of the rich'. It is a curiously evasive answer to the serious charge that the officers of the Scottish establishment were diverting too much of the revenue of the state to their own pockets.

[3] This important statement cannot be confirmed or denied from our present knowledge of Scottish financial history in the early eighteenth century. When they can be checked the general accuracy of Sir John's remarks on the Exchequer is such as to encourage the historian to accept this opinion as approximately true.

place, for if money be necessary for preserving the happiness and tranquillity of Great Britain, it is noe great matter in what part of the island it be spent, tho' I confess it would be for our advantage to have it as much diffused as is possible. This complaint may be extended to other taxes and duties which affect our oune products and manufactures and by consequence all our labourers and workmen, such as the duties on bear and ale, soap, candle, etc.; but these being imposed either for support of the Government or for payment of our debts are to be left to the wisdom of the King and Parliament, being things too tender in their nature to be touched here.

The last complaint I shall mention to you is that our appeals to the House of Lords are yearly multiplying, which (being vastly more numerous in proportion that these in England) occasion not only a great expence to parties but a loss of bussiness to all those who must attend them. It was thought sufficient by the Articles of Union to guard against bringing our civil actions before any of the judicatures in Westminster Hall, but if litigious persons are alloued to bring their actiones even sometimes for triffles before the House of Lords, the loss which we design'd to prevent is not remedied.[1] Such, indeed, is the justice of the high judicature I have named that there is noe body in this country who would not desire to have all their actions both civil and criminal determined there, but still it must be a loss to this country as well as a great burden on their Lordships if there be not the same methods taken to make this easy to both of them and the litigants as are usuall in England, but of this hereafter.

Our diseases nou being lay'd before you, the remedies are so obvious that I need not enlarge on them. Some of them depend on His Majesty and the Legislature, which I shall with great submission only mention, and the rest of them are entirely in our oun power, so that nothing will be wanting but a hearty inclination and steady resolution to rectify

[1] Article XIX of the Act of Union 'barred appeals from a Scottish court to any ordinary law court in England, but it did not expressly prohibit an appeal to the House of Lords'. In 1711 James Greenshields, condemned by the Court of Session for using the Anglican prayer-book in Edinburgh, appealed to the Lords and won his case: G. S. Pryde, *The Treaty of Union* (1950), pp. 43, 55. This established the legality of appeals to the Lords, which steadily increased in volume and in triviality. Clerk proposed the erection of the Exchequer Court, to which he was a Baron, as an intermediate appeal court above the Court of Session, to spare the Lords the volume of Scottish appeals.

them. These of the first kind are what I offered under the second third and fifth complaint. Noe doubt if wou'd be of great advantage to this country if some methods were fallen on to get our laues with regard to the peace of the country put in a better way than they seem to be at present, and for this end I should not thinke it amiss tho' some kind of judicature was setled here to have the oversight of these matters and to be ansuerable for miscarriages, for as places are more remote from the seat of Government, so they will require a different kind of administration from those which are nearer.

As to the complaint of the Peers, since some attempts have been made to ease them[1] and put them under the same circumstances with the rest of His Majesties subjects, I am hopefull that expedients of this kind will still be tryed, tho' nothing seems more just and reasonable than that the whole matter should be put in His Majesties pouer, who out of his great wisdom will act in all things as will best suit his oun dignity and honour and the ease and happiness of his subjects.

As to what concerns our appeals to Parliament, the same considerations ought to take place which we find in the 27th Queen Elizabeth Cap. 8,[2] for if writs of error were alloued here in the same way as they are in England, the House of Peers would find themselves more easy in the last resort of actions from this country than they are like to be for the future.

As to complaints in relation to taxes and burdens which affect our oun products and manufactories, we have reason from the tender concern His Majesty has shown in his late speech to the Parliament to expect some relief,[3] for since the national debts are for the greatest part ouing to ourselves, His Majesty seems to put it in our pouer to accelerat our payments by such degrees as the Parliament shall think safe and reasonable.

[1] The expedient of making the heir to a Scottish peerage into a British peer with right to sit in the Lords, and then allowing him to retain his seat after his succesion, was an intermediate step towards recognising Scottish peers who were peers of Great Britain as automatic members of the Lords.

[2] 27 Elizabeth I, c.8, entitled 'An Act for redress of erroneous judgements in the court commonly called the King's Bench', allowed a litigant certain appeals to the Exchequer Chamber, instead of to Parliament, on obtaining a writ of error from Chancery.

[3] In 1730 the land-tax was reduced to two shillings in the pound, but this was, of course, only applicable to England. There was no other 'relief' forthcoming at the time.

All our other complaints, as I have said, fall within our oun pouer; and there is noe more necessary than that our excellent laus, regulations of trade and navigation should be duely and punctually put in execution, a love to our country (I mean that part of our country where we have been born and educated) with an assiduous application to virtue and industry will render us a very happy people. If we would but mind the oeconomy that is usual in our natural body, every thing wou'd goe well with our political body. Noe person will cut cut off a finger or deform any part of his body from an extravagant conceit that it is not very necessary, for by doing this he marrs the beauty and lessens the pouer of the whole; as the care of our adminstrators ought to extend to the most distant parts of the United Kingdom, so every part ought to be improven to the greatest advantage and made subservient to the whole—but I need not enlarge on so obvious a subject, and therefore shall close this letter with tuo observations. The first is that if since the Union of the Kingdoms we have not improven our opportunities of encreasing in trade and riches as we might have done, it is intirely oueing to a want of industry or perhaps honesty amongst ourselves, and to the obstinat neglect of the welfare of our country. The second is that considering our mismanagements, 'tis a very great wonder that we are not in a much worse condition than we find ourselves. All which is humbly submitted to you by——.

A RENFREWSHIRE ELECTION ACCOUNT, 1832

edited by William Ferguson, PH D

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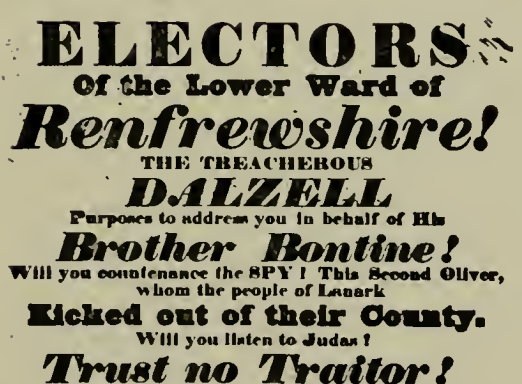

A RENFREWSHIRE ELECTION ACCOUNT, 1832

edited by William Ferguson, PH D

*

INTRODUCTION. The document printed below[1] was compiled in the course of the first reformed election for Renfrewshire and was typical of many such accounts then being rendered in Scotland for the first time. Not that lawyers' accounts were a novel feature of Scottish county elections, for as Ramsay of Ochtertyre noted 'lawyers are never paid so handsomely as in election causes'[2] and, as the young James Boswell found, the work was rewarding without being too exacting.[3] Before the passing of the Reform Act (Scotland),[4] however, the lawyers had been employed either to convey superiorities to parchment barons or to argue the validity or nominality of such votes in the Court of Session. The Reform Act swept all that into limbo. The Act was far from perfect but in 1832 few were able to take advantage of its defects.[5] Then the Court of Session lost its franchise jurisdiction and the sheriffs were given control of the new registration courts. The advocates, therefore, lost some remunerative business and the lawyers who prospered by elections after 1832 were mainly, like messrs Gardner and McLean, writers or solicitors. Due to the weak-

[1] Cunninghame Graham Muniments, GD 22-3-803, in Scottish Record Office, HM General Register House, Edinburgh.

[2] A. Allardyce, *ed.*, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century* (1888), vol. ii, p. 483.

[3] W. K. Wimsatt and F. A. Pottle, *ed.*, *Boswell for the Defence* (1960), pp. 220-1: 'Evening, consulted Lord Fife's politics. My getting into them was a great prize in the lottery of business'.

[4] 2 and 3 William IV, cap. 65, in *Collection of Public General Statutes* (1832), pp. 617-86.

[5] For a review of the defects of the Reform Act see W. Ferguson, *Electoral Law and Procedure in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, pp. 113-30 (unpublished Glasgow University PH D thesis, 1957).

ness of party organisation, election agents, such as Andrew Paterson, were usually local solicitors who, whatever their political beliefs, were bound to profit from a contest. Indeed, as in this very election, county agents were often accused of fomenting opposition 'from no purer motive than self-interest, and all such are to be distrusted'.[1] At first glance the profit would not seem to be great but two facts have to be taken into consideration. In general, the election of 1832 was not an expensive one, the scales being tilted so heavily in favour of the reform candidates. Then again, it has to be remembered that this account represents only a fraction of the total cost of Robert Cunninghame Bontine's campaign. The amount paid to messrs Gardner and McLean must have been much greater, not to mention that earned by local printers and dominies who also benefited from the Reform Act.

The main task of the lawyer as election agent after 1832 consisted in registering claimants and where possible objecting to voters pledged to the other interest. In the confused atmosphere of December 1832, with the full implications of the Act barely digested, this function was inadequately performed; but later, once the possibility of manufacturing votes had been demonstrated, registration became important enough for some advocates to make of it a full-time occupation.[2] But solicitors continued, like Andrew Paterson, to convene meetings of electors and to concoct and distribute leaflets and placards. There is a rich haul of these in this collection, most of which were composed in the melodramatic 'hiss the villain' style so dear to nineteenth century sentiment. Regrettably, one example must suffice. Robert Cunninghame Bontine's committee decided to smear his opponent, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, as a profaner of the sabbath, on the grounds that while in London he had attended a concert on a Sunday. A fierce controversy raged on this issue, in the course of which the following placard, with blackest of banner headlines, was distributed by Bontine's agents. HORRIBLE PROFANITY || AND || ABOMINABLE FALSEHOOD! || SIR M. SHAW STEWART. || Electors of Renfrewshire || A PLACARD will likely appear on the Church Doors on SABBATH first, in which it is insinuated, that the ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS OF

[1] GD22-1-580, Alexander Graham Speirs to Robert Cunninghame Bontine, 17 October 1832.

[2] For an example of this see *Parliamentary Papers* (1837), First Report from Select Committee on Fictitious Votes (Scotland), pp. 261 ff., evidence of James Craufurd, advocate.

RENFREWSHIRE, headed, SABBATH 'PROFANATION', and signed by a CHRISTIAN ELECTOR, is a false fabrication. Electors, the statement given of Sir Michael's conduct in that Address is || As true as that Sir Michael is in existence. ||

And so it continues, in no very Christian spirit, advising the electors to refrain from 'the fearful Responsibility of electing a Daring Sabbath-Breaker and an Advocate of Church Patronage, as your Member.'[1] As George Gardner complacently informed Bontine, 'Reports from every place look better still, and we have Sir M. on Sabbath profanation, which will tell with hundreds.'[2]

All this was far removed from the style of electioneering which had obtained as recently as 1831. Paterson could have played little part in that general election; but now suddenly, owing to the changes introduced by the Reform Act, such country lawyers were projected into a leading role in politics. This stemmed from the fact that elections were no longer decided secretly behind closed doors. The electors now had to be sought out and won over with a judicious mixture of arguments, threats, and inducements. And, interestingly, the problem of transporting voters to the polls was already vexatious. So much is apparent from the most cursory reading of this election account.

But some even more significant points arise if we re-create the peculiar circumstances of this particular contest in Renfrewshire. The sitting candidate was Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, baronet, of Greenock and Blackhall, who had been M.P. for Lanarkshire 1827–30 and had then represented Renfrewshire from 1830.[3] He belonged to a 'Foxite' family, as many of the street names in Greenock bear witness.[4] That Sir Michael was a true whig of the old school was proved by his presiding, along with Robert Wallace of Kelly, at a meeting in Greenock in 1821 which called upon the ministry to change its measures.[5] In 1832 such a step could easily be made to appear tame, but in 1821 it had bordered on the heroic. Sir Michael, however, obviously had reservations as to the extent or the purpose of reform and this led to much exaggerated and scurrilous abuse of him in the election of 1832.

[1] GD 22-2-158. See also illustration at p. 213, above.

[2] GD 22-1-581, George Gardner to Robert Cunninghame Bontine, 15 December 1832.

[3] Joseph Foster, *Members of Parliament, Scotland* (1882), p. 325.

[4] George Williamson, *Old Greenock* (1886), 1st ser., p. 249. Sir John Shaw Stewart had such a close regard for C. J. Fox that he caused Fox Street in Greenock to be laid out ten feet wider than usual.

[5] Ibid., p. 246.

He was a genuine moderate reformer and not, as was freely suggested, one of the numerous liberal-conservative hybrids that sought to adapt itself to the new environment created by the Reform Act. But significantly he had taken no part in the formation of the Renfrewshire Political Union which was formed at Paisley on 3rd December 1830, although the founding committee included such leading Renfrewshire whig lairds as Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, Archibald Speirs of Elderslie, Robert Wallace of Kelly and Robert Cunninghame Bontine of Ardoch.[1] The Union was committed to reform of representation, extension of the franchise 'at least to all male householders; and also the right of Voting by Ballot'. For this omission Stewart was in the course of the election campaign of 1832 branded as a secret tory, a ministerial tool, and 'political weathercock'.[2] He was also assailed for supporting patronage in the established Church of Scotland. In the election this was a point of considerable moment. For all these reasons discontent with Sir Michael was widespread among the new electors and from August onwards keen efforts were made to secure a more radical candidate. A. J. Hamilton, younger of Dalzell in Lanarkshire, offered himself but seems to have been conscious that he would cut a poor figure in a county in which he had no connections.[3] It was, indeed, clear from the start that, Reform Act or no Reform Act, the old landed interest was still in a strong position, even in such a manufacturing area, and that only a member of that class, acceptable to the radicals and yet supported by some of the whig landlords, stood any real chance against Sir Michael.

Such a person was at hand in Robert Cunninghame Bontine of Ardoch, a member of a landed family with strong connections in Perthshire, Dunbartonshire, and Renfrewshire.[4] In spite of his connections, of which the most important was his father-in-law Archibald Speirs of Elderslie, Bontine long hesitated. His hesitation was due partly to his poor circumstances which could ill afford a hard

[1] GD 22-2-158, *Objects of the Renfrewshire Political Union*, printed, p. 7.

[2] GD 22-2-158, newspaper clipping headed *Renfrewshire Election* (from the Glasgow Free Press of 28 November).

[3] GD 22-1-578, letters from A. J. Hamilton to Robert Cunninghame Bontine, 27 August, 8 October 1832. Hamilton's sponsorship of Owen's scheme for a model community at Orbiston in 1826 also told against him. See M. Cole, *Robert Owen of New Lanark* (1953), ch. XIX, for this episode.

[4] Joseph Irving, *Book of Dunbartonshire* (1879), vol. ii, pp. 312-3, for the connection between Ardoch and Gartmore.

contest, and partly to the uncertainties occasioned by the Reform Act. He was, or appeared to be, a dedicated radical and both from conviction and thrift wished to be requisitioned by the mass of the electors.[1] The requisition was by no means as complete as Bontine made out, and his father-in-law was far from cordial in his support,[2] but by 15 October he at last appeared as a candidate. This late start was undoubtedly a disadvantage, since Sir Michael had already received pledges from many of the voters. The death of Archibald Speirs on 2 November was another blow to Bontine, for Speirs' successor, Alexander Graham Speirs, proved even less forthcoming. Worst of all, Bontine soon discovered that the united front of whigs and radicals had collapsed. Sir John Maxwell was only prevented from supporting Stewart by some sharp remonstrances from his election committee at Paisley.[3] Maxwell for years had acted closely with Stewart and would have continued to do so but for the uncompromising zeal of his radical supporters in the brand new constituency of Paisley. From Bontine's point of view another dubious quantity was Robert Wallace of Kelly who was standing for Greenock, another new constituency, and dared not antagonise its laird. Nor did he. He served on Sir Michael's committee and prospered accordingly.[4]

Perhaps the most significant feature of the election was the zeal displayed by the 'Unionists', as the radical reformers were called. They laboured hard in Bontine's cause, were unscrupulous in their assaults on his opponents, and showed in no uncertain fashion their dissatisfaction with the Reform Act. They exposed the pressures exerted by the landlords to intimidate their tenants;[5] they tried to force the candidates to pledge themselves to certain specific objects

[1] GD 22-1-578, Robert Cunninghame Bontine to A. J. Hamilton, 10 October 1832. The radical associations bore a considerable part of their candidate's expenses.

[2] GD 22-1-580, letters from Archibald Speirs to Robert Cunninghame Bontine, 30 August, 17 October 1832.

[3] GD 22-1-581, George Gardner to Robert Cunninghame Bontine, 15 September 1832; ibid. 1-582, A. Wilson to Robert Cunninghame Bontine, 27 September 1832. Sir John, a whig, was returned for Paisley but resigned in 1834 (see T. Wilkie, *Representation of Scotland* (1895), p. 227).

[4] Wallace was elected and represented the constituency until he resigned his seat in 1845. See Wilkie, op. cit., p. 158.

[5] GD 22-2-158, placard *Public Meeting at Pollokshaws*, which concludes with the following advice: all were to be present at the nomination and shout for Mr Bontine, 'And, when sixty thousand shall have rent the air with their acclamations for him then his title to take his seat will be established on the equity of the Statute.'

(notably triennial parliaments, extension of the franchise, introduction of the secret ballot, and abolition of the corn laws and of church patronage).[1] In spite of their feverish activities, which seemed to prove that Bontine had the overwhelming support of the unenfranchised (one canvass put it at 4,384 to Stewart's 80), their candidate was badly worsted at the polls, so much so indeed that he threw up the contest and did not proceed to the second day of polling.[2] The result was Bontine 412 and Stewart 698.

In January 1835 Sir Michael was re-elected as a whig in a three-cornered fight with the conservative George Houston of Johnstone and the liberal William Dixon of Govanhill. Sir Michael died in 1836 and in the by-election of January 1837 Houston succeeded against Sir John Maxwell of Pollok[3] who had in 1834 resigned the crown of thorns that was Paisley. Robert Cunninghame Bontine never realised his ambition to append the magic letters 'M.P.' to his name. W. F.

[1] GD 22-2-158, *County of Renfrew Pledges*, 2 August 1832. Bontine pledged himself to these requirements but Sir Michael in his Address to the Electors refused to consider himself a mere delegate and upheld both corn laws and patronage. Such efforts by the radicals to commit candidates were common in the general election of 1832. Thus, the radicals of Leeds tried to enmesh Macaulay, only to be firmly rebuffed. See G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (ed. 1889), pp. 201-3.

[2] GD 22-1-158, *Red and Black List of Electors in the County of Renfrew, Shewing how they Voted at the First Election under the Reform Act, which took place on 24th December*, 1832. This printed list was intended to intimidate defaulting radical electors.

[3] T. Wilkie, *Representation of Scotland*, p. 249.

R. Cuninghame Bontine Esq. of Ardoch (per Messrs Gardner and McLean, Writers, Paisley) to Andrew Paterson, Writer, Lochwinnoch

1832

October 16

Trouble meeting with Messrs Gardner and McLean in their office today and receiving instructions to act as your agent in furtherance of your election as a member of Parliament for the county of Renfrew *3s. 4d.*

Trouble calling on the schoolmaster for the parish of Lochwinnoch and ordering him to make out two copies of the claimants to vote for the parish, one for the use of Messrs Gardner and McLean and one for my own—meeting with Mr Hugh Macalister, teacher here, on the subject of Messrs Gardner and McLean's letter to him with relative printed manifestos—and instructing a sheriff officer to be prepared to commence delivering these manifestos early next morning *3s. 4d.*

October 17

Paid parish schoolmaster's fees for first copy list of claimants, 3 sheets *2s. 6d.*

Folding and addressing 82 manifestos to claimants throughout the landward part of the parish and instructing officer to deliver them *6s. 8d.*

October 18

Going to Paisley and attending meeting of delegates from various parishes along with you and others when arrangements were made for various public district meetings and among others for one at Lochwinnoch on Tuesday the 23rd inst. at 4 o'clock, and paid incidents *£2 2s.*

Paid parish schoolmaster's fees of second copy of list of claimants *2s. 6d.*

October 19

Going to Crossflat and asking John Logan, a claimant, to attend meeting on Tuesday, 3 miles from Lochwinnoch *6s. 8d.*

Making copy lists of claimants for use of Mr Macalister, 3 sheets *3s.*

Calling on Dr Alexander Orr and Dr Andrew Crawford here and on Mr Carswell, clerk to the heritors, on the subject of canvassing the electors and getting the use of the parish church for the meeting etc., engaged 1 hour *3s. 4d.*

Writing Mr Carswell to lay my written application for the use of the church before an early meeting of heritors *3s. 4d.*

Writing Mr George Gardner as to the employment of Mr William Connell jointly with me and as to other matters *3s. 4d.*

Writing Dr Andrew Crawford and conversing on the subject of the proposed canvass and public meeting of the electors of the parish, engaged from 8 till 11 o'clock p.m. *6s. 8d.*

Writing Mr Gardner that Sir Michael and Sir John Maxwell's gamekeeper had arrived at Lochwinnoch tonight *3s. 4d.*

October 20

Attending meeting of heritors when permission granted to hold meeting in parish church *3s. 4d.*

Drawing notice of meeting *2s. 6d.*

Copy for printer *1s.*

Paid for printing 110 copies *4s.*

Addressing 81 copies of ditto to country electors and agency instructing officer to deliver these and distribute others throughout the town *6s. 8d.*

Attending meeting of non-electors in Lochwinnoch and getting their address to electors subjected to the qualification of being presented to the meeting on Tuesday only if agreeable to Mr Bontine *3s. 4d.*

Paid packet from Mr George Gardner authorizing the joint employment of Mr William Connell and with further manifestos for distribution *1d.*

Writing Mr Gardner in answer *3s. 4d.*

October 23

Attendance on you and Dr Crawford today in calling on various electors in the town and immediate neighbourhood, meeting with you and several of them in the inn here, attendance at meeting in the church and making the necessary arrangements for that meeting, meeting with you and several of the electors thereafter again in the inn and getting a committee of town electors appointed to meet on Saturday the 27 inst. at 6 o'clock p.m., engaged all day *£1 10s. 6d.*

Paid for attendance of Kilbirnie Band and incidents £1 6s. 6d.

October 24

Paid Mr Carswell for expenses relative to obtaining the use of the parish church for the meeting per separate account £1 2s.

October 27

Attending meeting of electors who agreed to support Mr Bontine by themselves and using their influence with others and going over list of electors when 48 were marked as considered to be in Mr Bontine's favor, engaged 3 hours 10s.

Paid incidents 2s. 9½s.

November 1

Paid post from Mr Gardner with Glasgow free press newspaper 1d.

November 9

Paid packet from Messrs Gardner and McLean with 50 addresses from the vice-chairman of the central committee to the electors of the county notifying Mr Bontine's intention to resume his district meetings and his personal canvass in about 2 weeks 2d.

Addressing and ordering their distribution throughout the parish to the electors 6s. 8d.

November 10

Paid packet from Messrs Gardner and McLean with copies of an address to the Radical Reformers of Renfrewshire and a report of proceedings titled, Mr Bontine at Neilston, Barrhead and Pollockshaws 4d.

November 12

Addressing and ordering distribution of 100 of the addresses and 100 of the reports to electors throughout the town and parish 11s. 6d.

November 13

Addressing 58 addresses to the farmers of Renfrewshire and ordering distribution of ditto 6s. 8d.

November 21

Addressing and ordering distribution of 50 addresses to the electors signed Rob. Muir 6s. 8d.

November 22

Going to Paisley and attending meeting of delegates with you in Messrs Gardner and McLean's office between 1 and 4 o'clock £2 2s.
Paid coach fare from Paisley to Lochwinnoch 2s. 6d.

November 27

Paid parcel with addresses by Mr Bontine containing his pledges and addresses by Mr Patrick Reid of Hazelden entitled, A sample of Sir M. S. Stewart in Parliament 2d.
Addressing and ordering distribution of 60 of each 6s. 8d.

November 28

Attending meeting of electors at Lochwinnoch and writing minute subscribed by 10 of them agreeing to act as a committee to forward Mr Bontine's election in this parish, engaged from 8 till 12 o'clock p.m. 13s. 4d.
Paid incidents 8s.

November 29

Going to Paisley and attending meeting of electors friendly to Mr Bontine from the different parishes in the Court Hall £2 2s.
Drawing letter signed, Sifter, in answer to letter signed, One of yourselves, dated Eaglesham, 5 sheets 15s. 6d.
Clean copy 5s.

November 30

Paid packet with various addresses from Messrs Gardner and McLean 4d.
Writing letter to Robert Ramsay, grocer, Beith, for addition of names to list of Lochwinnoch committee 3s. 4d.
Writing letter sent by a town to a country elector 3s. 4d.

December 1

Addressing various addresses to the electors, engaged 5 hours 16s. 8d.
Attending meeting of non-electors in the Court Hall tonight, engaged 2 hours, when it was agreed to canvass the non-electors of the village in favor of Mr Bontine 6s. 8d.
Paid for use of Court Hall 1s.
Writing second Sifter 3s. 4d.
Writing Mr Gardner therewith 3s. 4d.

December 3

Paid packet with more addresses *2d.*

Addressing them *6s. 8d.*

Meeting with Mr Bontine at Lochwinnoch and making arrangements with him and James Orr and several village electors as to proceeding to a personal canvass of the parish today, engaged 1 hour *3s. 4d.*

December 5

Attending meeting of non-electors in the Court Hall from 8 till 10 o'clock p.m., moving a resolution and addressing the meeting in favor of Mr Bontine *6s. 8d.*

Paid in part of expence of printing resolutions *2s. 6d.*

Paid incidents with committee of non-electors after the meeting *8s.*

December 6

Going to Paisley and attending meeting of electors in Philosophical Hall, Paisley, boat fare and incidents *£2 2s.*

December 7

Addressing various addresses to electors *6s. 8d.*

Calling on managers and attending their meeting at Lochwinnoch for the use of the dissenting church as a polling place and writing minute *6s. 8d.*

Meeting with Mr Bontine and several electors at Lochwinnoch and going over poll book in their presence and noting who conjectured to be favorable to Mr Bontine, who to Sir Michael and who uncertain *6s. 8d.*

Paid incidents at meeting after Mr Bontine's departure *10s.*

Lent Mr Bontine to pay to James Orr to accompanying him in canvass *£1*

Writing Mr Fraser of state of canvass *3s. 4d.*

Writing Mr Gardner with minute of managers agreeing to give the use of the dissenting church *3s. 4d.*

December 8

Express with letters to Mr Frazer and Mr Gardner detained all day at Paisley *5s.*

Paid his incidents *4s. 6d.*

Writing Mr Gardner as to cost of church, more addresses and another Sifter *3s. 4d.*

Paid packet from Messrs Gardner and McLean with more addresses *2d.*

December 10

Drawing Sifter's answer to a Lochwinnoch elector, 3 sheets *9s. 6d.*
Writing Mr Gardner therewith *3s. 4d.*
Paid packet with ditto *4s.*
Addressing various addresses *5s.*

December 11

Paid packet with more addresses *4d.*

December 12

Paid incidents with electors and non-electors as to further canvassing *1s. 6d.*

December 13

Going to Paisley and attending meeting of electors etc. in Philosophical Hall and incidents *£2 2s.*
Addressing various addresses *10s.*

December 14

Paid packet with additional addresses *6d.*

December 15

Addressing various other addresses *5s.*

December 16

Making copy list of voters to poll at Lochwinnoch into poll book to be used at Lochwinnoch on the polling day *5s.*

December 18

Paid packet with additional addresses *8d.*
Addressing ditto *5s.*

December 19

Having received two additional parcels of addresses, to addressing ditto *5s.*
Writing Dr Crawford, Port Glasgow, to bring up another elector in his gig on the first polling day *3s. 4d.*

Writing Mr Morren, innkeeper, Beith, for two Noddies[1] or other carriages *3s. 4d.*
Express with ditto *1s.*
Writing Mr Morren in answer to his message as to carriages *3s. 4d.*
Express with ditto *1s.*
Paid incidents meeting with electors tonight *3s. 6d.*

December 20

Going to Renfrew when the nomination of the two candidates took place, boat and coach hire and incidents *£2 7s. 6d.*
Addressing various addresses *6s. 8d.*

December 21

Writing Mr Frome, an elector at Beith, to go to the poll at Paisley on Monday *3s. 4d.*
Express with ditto to Beith *1s.*
Paid William Dunsmore for attendance at and cleansing the parish church on occasion of Mr Bontine's public meeting there *5s.*
Paid incidents meeting with electors tonight *4s.*

December 22

Addressing various addresses *5s.*
Writing letter to be printed requesting electors to meet in committee room on Monday morning at 8 o'clock *3s. 4d.*
Paid for printing 60 copies *2s. 6d.*
Addressing ditto *5s.*
Paid 5 men for delivering ditto in the town and country and for their incidents *12s.*
Paid incidents with electors tonight *1s.*

December 24

Attending in church with my clerk during today's polling *£2 12s. 6d.*
Paid hire of two carriages *£2 11s.*
Paid to placard holders *£1.*
Paid band for accompanying electors and non-electors to church and for their services during the day and at night *£1.*
Paid officer for his various days trouble delivering addresses and for his attendance at church during the polling *£3.*

[1] Noddy—'a light two-wheeled hackney-carriage, formerly used in Ireland and Scotland' (*Oxford English Dictionary*, vii, 176).

Paid innkeeper for use of hall and committee room for meeting of electors, non-electors, band and assistants during the polling, for dinner and incidents to various electors and others who assisted in getting Mr Bontine's voters brought forward to the poll, for stabling Mr Millar's horse, etc. etc. per account £5 10*s*.

Paid man assisting coach drivers in going to country voters 1*s*.

Paid another man for running messages in various directions during the polling 4*s*.

Paid Dr Henderson for twice visiting a sickly country elector and prevailing on him to come to the poll in one of the carriages 10*s*. 6*d*.

December 25

Attending at polling place today and consenting to close the poll, engaged from 8 till after 9 o'clock 5*s*.

Going to Beith and settling hire of carriages, incidents at settling ditto 2*s*. 6*d*.

Paid church officer half of joint allowance for his attendance at church 2*s*.

One half of joint allowance for use of church for which I granted my joint obligation but which has not yet been paid £2 12*s*. 6*d*.

Paid wright for making placard boards 7*s*.

Paid man for posting various placards on walls etc. 1*s*. 6*d*.

General trouble from the commencement till the termination of the contest not otherwise charged being a period of two months and nine days £5 5*s*.

December 26

Paid post from Mr Gardner for polling book and my account 1*d*.

[Total]	£62	19*s*.	0½*d*.
Off charge for use of church	£ 2	12*s*.	6*d*.
Off discount	10	7*s*.	4½*d*.
	£50	0*s*.	0*d*.

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REPORT
of the 78th Annual Meeting

The 78th Annual Meeting of the Scottish History Society was held in the Rooms of the Royal Society, George Street, Edinburgh, on Saturday 12th December 1964, at 11.15 a.m. Professor Gordon Donaldson, Chairman of Council, was in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was as follows:

The two volumes of the *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree, 1413-1588*, edited by Dr Annie I. Dunlop, were issued to members in November. The Society is greatly indebted to the University of St Andrews for permission to issue this reprint and the Council wishes to acknowledge the very favourable terms granted by the University, which have resulted in a considerable saving for the Society. The work itself presents, with a wealth of editorial matter, a record which is of unparalleled interest not only for the history of universities in Scotland, but also in the wider field of the history of European universities as a whole.

As the Chairman of Council intimated at the Annual Meeting in December, 1963, the Council has for some time been considering changes in the format and binding of the Society's volumes. This subject was brought to a head by a statement from the printers that the green binding cloth used for the Third Series was no longer obtainable. The Council therefore decided that a Fourth Series should be started and that the volumes should be re-designed. In this the Council has had the services of Mr George Mackie, F.S.I.A., D.A., of Gray's School of Art, Aberdeen, who has designed the spine and title-page and has re-drawn the title-page device. It has been the Council's aim to ensure that the new format should reflect the highest standards of modern book-design and should be a worthy replacement for a design which has served the Society well for the past seventy-eight years.

The Third Series has been closed with the issue of the two volumes of the *Acta Facultatis Artium* and the first volume of the Fourth Series will be Mr E. R. Cregeen's *Argyll Estate Instructions* (*Mull, Morvern, Tiree*), *1771-1805*. This volume, which includes a portrait of the fifth Duke of Argyll and two maps illustrating the text, will be ready for issue about the end of 1964. The second volume of the Fourth Series will be *Miscellany Volume X*,

the contents of which were indicated in the last Annual Report. This volume will be issued in the course of 1965 and will include a frontispiece portrait of the late Dr E. W. M. Balfour-Melville and a memoir of him by Professor D. B. Horn.

Three further volumes are now in preparation. The Rev. Charles Burns, Scriptor of the Vatican Archives, is editing *Letters of Popes Clement VII and Benedict XIII relating to Scotland, 1378-1418*, which contain valuable materials, omitted from the officially published *Calendar of Papal Registers*, for the period of the Schism when Scotland adhered to the Avignon popes. A group of *Letters of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, 1799-1812*, is being edited by Miss B. L. H. Horn. Ramsay is already known from his papers edited in *Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th century* as a shrewd observer of contemporary society and these letters contain a fund of vivid comments and entertaining anecdotes on the fashions, personalities and politics of his day. Mr R. J. Adam and Mr A. V. Cole are editing *Papers on Sutherland Estate Policy, 1800-1820*, which will reveal many aspects of the administration of this important estate and will provide new evidence on the controversial subject of the Clearances. Including the other volumes already announced, eight volumes altogether are now in active preparation for the Society.

The Council wishes to record with gratitude that a legacy of £150 was bequeathed to the Society by Dr E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, its late President. The Council has decided to leave the office of President unfilled for the present.

Professor Gordon Donaldson has now decided to give up office as Joint Secretary on account of pressure of other work. The Council has appointed Dr Ian B. Cowan to be Joint Secretary along with Mr Grant G. Simpson. Mr Simpson will be responsible for publications and Dr Cowan for general administration and correspondence.

The Council has decided to raise the price of back volumes from £1 1s. to £1 10s.

Members of Council who retire in rotation at this time are Mrs M. O. Anderson, Professor G. W. S. Barrow and Dr A. R. B. Haldane. The following will be proposed to the Annual Meeting for election to the Council—Mr M. R. Apted, Dr William Ferguson, Mr R. W. Munro.

During the past year 11 members have died, 5 have resigned, and 8 have been removed from the list for non-payment of subscriptions; 35 new members have joined. The membership, including 184 libraries, is now 487.

An abstract of the Accounts, as audited, is appended.

In presenting the Annual Report, Professor Donaldson referred to the experiment of holding the Annual Meeting in the morning rather than in the afternoon as had been customary and expressed the hope that this would meet with general approval. Mentioning the publication of the *Acta Facultatis Artium*, Professor Donaldson conveyed the appreciation of the Society to the editor of the volumes, Dr A. I. Dunlop, who had added yet another example of her meticulous scholarship to the many volumes which she had already edited for the Society. Congratulations were also offered to a past president of the Society, Professor J. D. Mackie, on the publication of his *History of Scotland*. Mentioning volumes in preparation, Professor Donaldson said that the first volume of the Fourth Series would appear early in 1965. It was hoped that the redesigned format would appeal to members. He acknowledged the assistance given by Mr George Mackie in matters of design and by Messrs T. and A. Constable, who had proved to be most co-operative in assisting in these changes. In conclusion, he said that membership continued to rise and with a hundred new members enrolled over the last ten years, a total membership of five hundred was now within sight. The report was seconded by Dr A. R. B. Haldane and was duly adopted.

Sir William Arbuckle nominated for election to the Council Dr M. R. Apted, Dr W. Ferguson and Mr R. W. Munro, who were seconded by Rev. D. Shaw and duly elected.

Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran then gave an address entitled 'The Housing of the Public Records'. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to Sir James, proposed by Mr R. J. Adam.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF CHARGE AND DISCHARGE OF THE INTROMISSIONS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER for the year from 1st November 1963 to 31st October 1964

I. GENERAL ACCOUNT

CHARGE

I. Cash in Bank at 1st November 1963:		
1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland		£2,032 15 7
2. Sum at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland		291 1 0
3. Cash in hands of Bank of Scotland to meet postages		0 2 10
		£2,323 19 5
II. Subscriptions received		678 7 4
III. Donations, Legacy		232 5 0
IV. Grant from Carnegie Trust		150 0 0
V. Past Publications sold (including postages recovered from purchasers)		36 8 6
VI. Interest on Savings Account with Bank of Scotland		32 4 6
VII. Income Tax Refund		68 0 11
VIII. Sums drawn from Bank Current Account	£3,144 5 10	
IX. Sums drawn from Bank Savings Account	£2,350 0 0	
		£3,521 5 8

DISCHARGE

I. Cost of Publications during year			£915 2 5
Cost of printing Annual Report, Notices and Printers' postages etc.			95 8 10
			£1,010 11 3
II. Miscellaneous Payments			83 12 9
III. Sums lodged in Bank Current Account	£3,506 2 9		
IV. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account	£4,415 0 1		
V. Funds at close of this account:—			
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	£15 0 1		
2. Balance at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland	361 16 11		
3. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank	50 0 0		
4. Balance at credit of Special Investment Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank	2,000 0 0		
5. Cash in hands of Bank of Scotland to meet current postages	0 4 8		
		2,427 1 8	
		£3,521 5 8	

II. DR ANNIE I. DUNLOP SPECIAL FUND ACCOUNT

CHARGE

I. Cash in Bank at 1st November 1963 :		
1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	£686 7 0	
2. Sum at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland	19 6 0	
	705 13 0	
II. Interest on Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	12 15 9	
		£718 8 9

DISCHARGE

I. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account	£12 15 9		
II. Funds at close of this Account :			
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	699 2 9		
2. Balance at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland	19 6 0		
		718 8 9	
			£718 8 9

EDINBURGH, 23*rd November* 1964. I have examined the General Account and Dr Annie I. Dunlop Special Fund Account of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1st November 1963 to 31st October 1964, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched.

C. T. MCINNES
Auditor

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